

Old draft?

ANNCR: PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM

(MUSIC: _ _ UP AND UNDER)

ANNCR: This is a series of full-hour programs based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union. This series is presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in consultation with scholars from the Russian Institute of Columbia University, the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University, and the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. The program you are about to hear, ^{"Art to Order,"} ~~"Controls in Soviet Russian Culture,"~~ is based on materials and counsel provided by Doctor Ernest J. Simmons, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University and Professor of Russian Literature in its Russian Institute.

(MUSIC: _ _ UP TO FINISH)

Doctor Ernest J. Simmons has been a student of Russian literature and culture for some twenty years and has made five trips to the Soviet Union for research purposes. His biographies and critical studies of Pushkin, Dostoevski and Tolstoy are standard works. Here is Doctor Simmons to introduce our documentary ^{"Art to Order."} ~~"Controls in Soviet Russian Culture."~~

SIMMONS: Since we are probably going to have to live with the Soviet Union for many years to come, it is perhaps dangerous to make a virtue of ignorance about it. Whatever may be the future of our relations, it is highly important to know everything we can about that country and its peoples. One broad field of human endeavor in the Soviet Union of which little is known on the outside is the field of culture and the manner in which the government controls it. In the early days of the Soviet regime artists were permitted a great deal of freedom and often they created works of high artistic merit. However, with the swift growth of the power of Stalin and the domination of the Communist Party he leads, regimentation in the arts, as in all human endeavors in the Soviet Union, grew rapidly. ~~Since the end of the war the Party has loudly and publicly asserted its absolute control over all ideological matters in a new national and international policy of far-reaching importance, a significant aspect of which is a declared hostility to the West and America.~~ In this new policy all Soviet art has been placed under rigorous controls by the Party, with devastating results which are now becoming apparent. How these controls operate in the Soviet Union, and the effect they have on the artist and his creations in literature, drama, and music will be the subject of this broadcast.

9 ANGELA: If only those blackfaces wouldn't sit so close! Right next to me! They shove with their elbows, laugh and answer their lessons right out. | 2.

SIMMONS: That was an American child actor speaking a line from SNOWBALL, a recent Soviet children's play, which depicts the Communist Party's version of the life of an American school child. We shall hear more from this play in a moment.

(MUSIC: -- -- A FRAGMENT OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S SEVENTH SYMPHONY)

SIMMONS: You have just heard a few bars of Shostakovich's famous Seventh Symphony, widely acclaimed in the Soviet Union only a few years ago, but since the Resolution of the Central Committee on music in 1948 violently denounced as formalistic. Later in this program we shall discuss a list of the charges made against such famous Soviet composers as Shostakovich, Prokofiev, and Khachaturian, and a panel of distinguished American composers and music critics--Mr. Deems Taylor, Mr. Henry Cowell and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky--will give you their reactions to Soviet musical selections drawn from the periods before and after the 1948 Resolution. ~~There is still another field of the arts we wish to explore--literature.~~

*"Music
See to order"?*

IVANOV: "In many Soviet works of literature you will find a dreamed-up life, a wishful one, but not the real one."

SIMMONS: That was an American actor, but he was speaking the exact words of a former Soviet writer, under the pseudonym of Mr. Ivanov, now living in Germany. ~~The line read was translated from an interview in answer to an extensive questionnaire on his personal experiences as a writer in the Soviet Union.~~ Later we shall hear more of Mr. Ivanov's difficulties in trying
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SIMMONS: (CONT) to earn his living as a Soviet author. And now here is the Narrator for our program to take us to a children's theater in the Soviet Union.

NARR: Leningrad, shortly after five o'clock on a summer afternoon.

(SOUND: _ _ _ STREET NOISES)

NARR: We are standing in front of a famous theatrical house: the Young Spectators Theater. In a few minutes we shall see "SNOWBALL"---a play about America performed before thousands of Russian children during the past three years...~~children who live in cities reaching from Archangel in the far north down to Tiflis and Yerevan on the border of Turkey--from the Baltic port of Riga eastward across the steppes of Central Asia to Vladivostok on the Sea of Japan.~~ The theater we are about to enter, the Young Spectators Theater of Leningrad, is only one of a network of professional theaters devoted to the entertainment of children. But it is time for the performance to begin. This way.....

~~(SOUND: _ _ _ TRAFFIC NOISES FADE OUT)~~

NARR: (FAUSE) We are in the theater proper.

~~(SOUND: _ _ _ SLOW, CONCERTED HANDCLAPPING BEGINS. CONTINUES UNDER.)~~

NARR: Children are all around us, boys and girls, perhaps fifty in each row, impatient for the performance to begin. ~~The stage is worth noting.~~ The forestage projects into the audience so that we surround it on three sides. Your eyes are becoming accustomed to the
-more-

NARR: (CONT) dark now....there's the orchestra grouped in front of the stage. I think they're about to start.....

~~(SOUND: _ _ _ HANDBLAPPING DIES OUT)~~

(MUSIC: _ _ _ OVERTURE MUSIC: ESTABLISH: FADE AND HOLD UNDER:)

NARR: The play "SNOWBALL," a story of America, written expressly for Russian children.

(MUSIC: _ _ _ OUT)

NARR: The following scenes from "SNOWBALL" are a literal translation from the Russian.

(PAUSE)

And there goes the curtain.

(HUSHED) The action takes place in a city in the United States. On the stage before us is an expensively furnished living room in the home of Mr. Biddle, an American millionaire. As he sits at his desk, his teen-age daughter, Angela, enters.

(SOUND: _ _ _ DOOR OPENS)

ANGELA: Pa, I want to have a talk with you.

BIDDLE: I'm listening, my child.

ANGELA: I can't go to school any more, Pa. It's too much for me. We shouldn't have come up from the South.

BIDDLE: We had to, Angela. My business demanded it. I'm setting up something big....you'll inherit millions.

ANGELA: Oh, sure, it's nice to have millions. But can't you do something to stop me from being humiliated?

BIDDLE: I can't change the law, child. In the public schools of the city everybody studies together--white and colored children alike. There is no private school in this city.

ANGELA: If only those blackfaces wouldn't sit so close! Right next to me! They shove with their elbows, laugh and answer their lessons right out.

~~(SOUND: -- DOORBELL RINGS)~~

ANGELA: In the South they sit separately in the back of the room. But here!--that Mr. Thompson, he's too good to them.

(SOUND: -- DOORBELL AGAIN)

BIDDLE: Someone's at the door.

ANGELA: (FADING) It's probably for me.

(SOUND: -- DIALING OF TELEPHONE)

BIDDLE: Hello? I'd like to speak to the principal, Mr. Thompson. This is Biddle, a member of the school board.
(PAUSE)

How are you, Mr. Thompson? Yes, yes. I'd like to see you personally. I have a great many suggestions.... of course, of course. When would you suggest we get together, Mr. Thompson? Thursday at two?....you can't make it at six Wednesday?.....all right, Thursday. Goodbye.

(SOUND: -- RECEIVER REPLACED)

BIDDLE: (DISAGREEABLY) Hm. (CALLS) Angela, I'm going out.

(SOUND: -- DOOR SLAMS)

~~(MUSIC)~~

NARR: ~~(HUSHED)~~ The curtain rises on the next scene. It is the following Thursday, shortly before Mr. Biddle, Angela's father, is due to arrive at the school. Mr. Thompson, the school principal, is in his office with Dick Dempsey--the Negro boy they call "Snowball"....

THOMPSON: (FADING IN) Now listen, Dick, you stop worrying and study just as if no newcomers were in class.

DICK: I'm "Snowball," Mr. Thompson.

THOMPSON: Well, what of it?

DICK: My grandfather was a porter, my father is a longshoreman and my mother is a maid. My uncle is an elevator operator. Who put a curse on our people? Why should we always be servants? I want to study. I want to be a great surgeon. That's what I want to do, Mr. Thompson.

THOMPSON: You will do it, Dick, even if it is hard. Don't believe those who would have you think you're not worthy of lofty ideas and feelings. Your people are clever and talented and they have produced great scholars, artists and musicians. So study, Dick, study calmly. You can be a surgeon. I shall help you. I certainly shall.

DICK: (VERY MUCH MOVED) You're--I'm so very grateful to you, Mr. Thompson.

THOMPSON: (KINDLY) Goodbye, Dick.

DICK: Goodbye, Mr. Thompson.

~~(MUSIC: _ _ _ BRIDGE)~~

NARR: A few moments later, Mr. Biddle arrives at the office.....

(SOUND: _ _ _ KNOCK AT DOOR)

THOMPSON: Come in.

(SOUND: _ _ _ DOOR OPENS)

THOMPSON: How do you do, Mr. Biddle?

BIDDLE: Good afternoon, Mr. Thompson.

THOMPSON: Sit down. You wanted to see me on a personal matter?

BIDDLE: I won't keep you. Yes, I have a personal matter with you. My daughter is being treated badly in your school, Mr. Thompson. Angela has been complaining about it.

THOMPSON: Treated badly by whom?

BIDDLE: By some of the students in her class.

THOMPSON: Perhaps your daughter should seek the reason for it in her own character.

BIDDLE: I would like to spare my daughter from an analysis of her character. I am asking you to step into the situation in the class and--

THOMPSON: You know, I always prefer that the children solve their own conflicts and it usually works out all right. I myself step in only in an emergency.

BIDDLE: In the present situation I am going to request--I am going to insist--that you take decisive steps. I demand that you give another seat to that--what's his name?

THOMPSON: Dick?

BIDDLE: I believe they call him "Snowball." Put your Snowball and the other members of his race in the back seats.

THOMPSON: I should insult a boy who is fine in every respect? Because he is a Negro? I will not do that. I gave my word to my student, Dick Dempsey, that nobody will dare to prevent him from studying in this school.

BIDDLE: You are a dangerous man, Mr. Thompson! You are especially dangerous because you can instil sympathy for the harmful and useless ideas which you preach. I'll be frank with you--I'm a busy man, and I did not intend to get tied up with the school at the present time. My daughter complained she was treated badly and I merely wanted to rectify that. But now I have run into you. You are not the right person to be heading this school.

THOMPSON: Do you think so?

BIDDLE: You want to turn your students against the government.

THOMPSON: I want to make my students honest Americans who won't have to blush before the whole world because of their country.

BIDDLE: (WITH RISING ANGER) We ^{will not permit} ~~won't let~~ ^{shall} our children be crippled in school. We ~~will~~ bring them up to be real Americans. From now on this school is going to be my direct concern. If Dick Dempsey and all the colored children are not put in the back of the room by tomorrow, you will regret your stubbornness. Think it over before it's too late, Mr. Thompson.

(SOUND: _ _ _ DOOR SLAM)

~~(MUSIC)~~

NARR: In the play Mr. Biddle makes good his threat and succeeds in having Mr. Thompson removed as principal of the school. But in the final scene of "SNOWBALL," Thompson gathers Dick Dempsey and his friends together and faces Biddle, Angela and their supporters.

~~(MUSIC: _ _ _ UNDER)~~

THOMPSON: You are celebrating your victory prematurely, Mr. Biddle. We are going to fight for our children, for the future America. We will bring them up for the world, for real freedom, for friendship. We won't give in. You don't frighten us. We will fight!

(SOUND: _ _ _ ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE)

(MUSIC: _ _ _ RISES FOR CURTAIN AND CONCLUDES)

(PAUSE)

NARR: This Russian play, SNOWBALL, from which you have just heard excerpts--literal translations from the Russian--was awarded a Stalin prize--the highest honor for a literary or dramatic work, and the piece has enjoyed great popularity in the Soviet Union. A Soviet critic writes of SNOWBALL:

VOICE I: The play takes a whack "at the most repellent feature of present-day imperialist America, racism...The theater has produced a penetrating show that mercilessly exposes the inhumanity of business men. The young Soviet actors have capably rendered life's cruel truth, have shown how deeply moved they are by the tragedy of the Negro people in America."

NARR: Now, here is Dr. Ernest Simmons to add his own comments on SNOWBALL.

SIMMONS: SNOWBALL is by no means an isolated example of the technique employed by the Soviets to represent America as a nation divided against itself. The purpose behind such plays is an obvious one: to hammer home to impressionable youngsters the suffering and injustices of the non-Soviet world. ~~This might be termed a minor variation of a basic theme--that the world of the Soviet Union is the best of all possible worlds and fortunate, indeed, is the child who lives there and not elsewhere.~~ SNOWBALL is one of the answers to the social demand made upon dramatists in the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on August 26, 1946. In this resolution the art of the West and the United States was violently attacked and Soviet playwrights were urged to reveal in their plays all the

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SIMMONS: (CONT) evils of our life. ~~Since that time more than~~
thirty plays, most of them for adults, have been
directed against America under such titles as The Voice
of America, The Color of the Skin, Missouri Waltz,
The Mad Haberdasher. With clever propaganda skill real
abuses and weaknesses in American life are singled out
as the themes--poor race relations, the oppression of
minorities, political corruption, yellow journalism,
Red-baiting, violation of civil liberties--and these
weaknesses and abuses are then misrepresented as being
widely accepted and uncorrected in the United States.
~~The power of such propaganda should not be under-~~
estimated, for the huge superstructure of the Soviet
theater is regarded by the State as one of its best
instruments for forming the minds of its citizens. For
there are hundreds of professional theaters and thousands
of amateur ones, and the audiences yearly run into the
millions. And its repertory is entirely controlled by
~~the State.~~

Before the war some freedom was permitted Soviet
dramatists to reveal on the stage in realistic manner
some of the actual problems and conflicts of Soviet
life. Since the 1946 resolution of the Central Committee,
however, a pall of unreality has settled over the native
repertory.

All plays must now be submitted first to the official
repertory committees, which are in turn rigorously
controlled by the government Committee on the Affairs
of Art. In their fear of Party condemnation, the
official censors have done their best to impress upon

SIMMONS: (CONT) dramatists the necessity to eradicate from their plays even aspects of dramatic struggle which might be erroneously interpreted in a State where people are supposed to be living in complete social harmony. In fact, this oppression of the censors has recently brought about the development of an incredible theory--the theory of the drama without conflict. As a consequence there has appeared in the Soviet Union over the last five years a quantity of plays filled with black and white, negative and positive characters and hopelessly stereotyped situations. So bad have been the results that a kind of national scandal has arisen, and as a corrective a prominent playwright, N. Virda, has been permitted recently to expose in the public press the whole vile business of the murder of dramatic art. He writes:

VOICE II:

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"Everything living, true to life, sharp, fresh and unstereotyped has been combed out and smoothed out to the point where it was no longer recognizable. Every bold, unstereotyped word in a play had to be defended at the cost of the playwright's nerves and the play's quality...

The future holds forth a great deal for the theaters and for the Soviet audience if the creative energies of the writers are free from the fetters forged in bureaucratic nooks and crannies by indifferent officials who preach the idea of conflictless, 'speak-softly, speak-gently, be-pious' writing'

SIMMONS: All this could be quite salutary if the blame were placed where it belongs--on the narrow demands and controls of the Communist Party itself and the fear thereof which results in stupid conformity, instead of on the bureaucratic servants who carry out the orders of the Party. Soviet drama can never have any relevance to the reality of life so long as the creative dramatist must submit to the monolithic controls of the Communist Party.

(MUSIC)

INTERVIEWER: (IMPERSONAL, BRISK) Your name, sir?

IVANOV: Rodion Ivanov.

INTER: Date and place of birth?

IVANOV: I was born in 1896, in the village of Vilovatov, in the Samara Government, Buzuluk County, Vilovatov Volost.

INTER: Family background?

IVANOV: My father was a peasant and worked on a farm.

INTER: How did you happen to leave the U.S.S.R.?

IVANOV: As a draftee I was taken prisoner by the Germans in 1941.

INTER: What was your occupation while in Russia?

IVANOV: I was a writer.

~~(MUSIC: -- -- UNDERLINE AND SLOWLY FADE OUT UNDER.)~~

SIMMONS: ~~This is Ernest Simmons again. Soviet literature, it should be understood, is regarded by the Party today primarily as a propaganda medium to educate Soviet citizens to accept an official version of life in the Soviet Union. Entertainment, a reflection of beauty, imitation of nature, art for art's sake--all these~~

SIMMONS:

~~(CONT) esthetic justifications of literary art in the~~
West find no place in so-called Soviet Marxian esthetics.
The true aim of literature is precisely summed up in a
recent statement in Novy mir, a well-known literary
journal: "For Soviet literature there are no more
important, no higher problems than those which have
~~been posed by the Bolshevik Party."~~

In this scheme of things the literary artist would
appear to have no more lofty duty than that of slavishly
following the commands of the Party. ~~Punishment for~~
failure to comply usually takes the form of public
denunciation. If recantation does not follow,
accompanied by reformed practice, the artist may be
driven from literature and he may ultimately suffer a
worse fate. It seems likely that many Soviet writers,
intent solely on making a living by their pen, are
skilled craftsmen rather than indubitable literary
artists and hence comply with Party demands without any
~~severe wrenching of conscience.~~ No doubt, a few
sincerely dedicated Communist writers accept control as
an article of faith in no sense inhibiting their
artistic functioning. And perhaps out of such faith
can come inspired, genuine art, in which ideological
limitation and controls cease to be impediments to the
creative process because they do not exist as such for
the artist. The act of artistic creation becomes an
act of faith in the system that controls it. But for
the real Soviet literary artist who lacks this faith--
and there must be many--his normally free-ranging mind
-more-

SIMMONS: (CONT) and imagination must stumble in constant pain and a sense of self-violation in a compulsive, suffocating atmosphere of creation.

(PAUSE)

The following is the English translation of a series of questions asked of a former Russian writer, now in Germany, and his answers to those questions.

INTERVIEWER: ~~(PAUSE IN)~~ What type of writing did you do, Mr. Ivanov?

IVANOV: I wrote poetry, sketches, short stories and plays for children and adults.

INTER: How did you happen to become a writer?

IVANOV: At the age of fifteen in the year 1911 I read Nadson's poem "Friend of mine, brother of mine" that I discovered in a wall calendar. My illiterate mother said: "A nice little poem. A fellow with talent. He could describe our peasant's life well. The people are suffering, oh, how they are suffering." These words inspired me and I immediately wrote my first poem about the sufferings of the peasants. In 1924, I went to the editorial office of "Krasnaya Nov" and asked the editor: "How about me writing a sketch about peasant life for you?" He said: "Go ahead. Write one." I then wrote a sketch. The sketch was published. A letter from Maxim Gorky arrived. From Italy he wrote the editor: "In your magazine I enjoyed most the sketch of Rodion Ivanov." My heart beat with joy. My fate was sealed - to be a writer, to work in this field.

INTER: Is there much difference in the average yearly earnings of various writers?

IVANOV: The writers in the Soviet Union are divided into three groups: one, the "leaders," two, the "average" and three, the "grays." The leaders live in villas given to them by the government, have servants and automobiles. They receive high fees. The "average" live in one or two rooms; their works appear in print less often; they hope to write something that will attract the attention of the public, or the government or of the leaders of the Writers Union. The "grays" are in the majority. Many of them are only candidates for membership in the Writers Union and not full-fledged members.

INTER: How did you feel about the controls and demands of the government upon the work of the writer, Mr. Ivanov?

IVANOV: There isn't a single writer, not even a Party member, who would consider the governmental control over literature beneficial to literature. Everybody dreams of writing as he wishes and what he wishes. Control over literature is the greatest calamity for the writers. This opinion of mine is based on numerous conversations with "leaders," "average" and "grays," and on observations over a period of almost twenty years. The control of literature was the constant anguish of a writer's soul.

INTER: Can you recall instances during your life as a writer when severe measures were taken against a writer by the government or by the Party?

IVANOV: I had an article about a peasant komsomol published in the "Red Guard" in 1939.

INTER: A komsomol is a member of the Party youth organization, is he not?

IVANOV: Yes, that's right. In the article I described actual facts of drunkenness, ignorance, roughness, laziness, lack of respect for elders, etc. I was summoned to appear before the Central Committee of the Komsomol. The second secretary, Mishakov, lectured to me for three hours using abusive language. He told me that without reason I villified the Komsomol. The editor of the magazine, Lev Oválov, who was present, was also bawled out. He tried to wriggle out of it like a worm fastened by a pin. Such things were breeding hatred for the government, making a writer more angry and scared. It often seemed to me, as it seemed to other writers, that our situation had become a hopeless one.

INTER: A Soviet critic writes: "The writer can give a truthful and profound portrayal of reality in its revolutionary development only if he is guided by the policy of the Soviet state. Do you agree with this?"

IVANOV: In his works the writer can never show life as it really is. I talked a number of times about it with Soviet critics. I used to say: "The reality that you desire does not exist. It is actually much sadder, much blacker, more tragic." "Then show reality as it should be," answered the critics. ~~In many Soviet works of literature~~ you will find a dreamed-up life, a wishful one, but not the real one. Only when writing about the past is the author more truthful and sincere. The way Soviet life is presented depends on the ability of the writer. The more talent he possesses the more convincing will be his pictures of Soviet life. A gifted writer may present ~~the wishful as the real.~~

INTER: Does the dominant part played by the Communist Party in so many novels and dramas accord with the reality of Soviet life?

IVANOV: It does. In novels and in plays, as well as in real life, no step can be taken without Party directives. The Party members stick their noses everywhere. The directive of the Party is the constant whip swishing over the heads of the Russian people.

INTER: What about the "positive heroes" of Russian fiction? Are they regarded as true to reality, or hopefully idealized?

IVANOV: The average reader among the workers, kolkhoz members, the Soviet officials, is moved by these heroes. When transferred to the screen these heroes make the Soviet movie-goer cry. Many of the readers and spectators know that "they do not exist in real life, but it is fun to look at them and read about them." Using Pushkin's words I can say that the "lofty deceit" permeates all Soviet literature.

INTER: How do you explain the condemnation of a novel, poem or play after it has been presented to the public?

IVANOV: Attacks are initiated by some "vigilant" critic, sometimes by a high Party official because of a change in Party line.

INTER: Does there exist in the Soviet Union an available official list of plays, Western, pre-Soviet Russian, and Soviet, the publication or performance of which is forbidden by the government?

~~IVANOV: What has been prohibited by the government cannot reach the public any more.~~

NARR: And now here again is Dr. Ernest Simmons to comment on the interview with the ex-Soviet writer, Mr. Ivanov, which you have just heard. Dr. Simmons.

SIMMONS: Similar answers to many more such interviews of former Soviet writers, now escapees from the USSR, could be quoted to prove how inclusive and rigid are controls in literature. ~~Soviet literature today is the reflection of a revolution grown old and conservative and of a reality defined by the Party. As one Soviet critic put it: "Artistic truth is the ability to tell everything necessary, but to tell it correctly, that is, from a definite Bolshevik point of view." During the War one could detect a relaxation of Party controls on all the media of art and intellectual life. And at the end of the War a public report on the tenth plenum of the Administration of the Writers Union recorded frank expressions of hope by prominent authors that interference in the arts would be discontinued. These hopes were blasted by the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Party on literature on August 14, 1946, and by the subsequent speeches of the late Andrei Zhdanov, member of the Politburo, in which he plainly indicated not only what literature was considered anti-Soviet, but also defined the kinds of books that ought to be written by postwar authors.~~

SIMMONS: (CONT) By now a formidable control apparatus has been developed in the Soviet Union to enable the Party to carry out its declared intention of using literature for its own purposes. Since the whole manufacturing process of the printed word (paper, presses, publishing houses, distribution) is ultimately under government control, the Party has an economic stranglehold on the whole output and content of literature. The propaganda line that determines the broad direction of literary content is usually initiated in the Politburo and announced in Resolutions of the Central Committee which have almost the force of law. ~~The Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee has as one of its main duties to compel active observance of the ideological line in literature and to expose what it considers important deviations from it.~~ Lower down in the hierarchy of controls, though capable of bringing more immediate pressure to bear on authors, is the Union of Soviet Writers. Though Communists do not predominate in the membership of the Union, they do occupy most of the key posts and control it. Authors are encouraged to read their works in progress to relevant committees of the Union, and there the critical emphasis is on whether the writer has embodied in his work the true spirit of the Party line. A further check takes place in the editorial offices of the so-called "thick" magazines, for the best literature, even novels as serials, appears first in these publications. Their editorial boards in turn are made

SIMMONS: (CONT) up largely of Communists, and one of their principal functions is to pass on the ideological correctness of manuscripts submitted to them. The same is true of the editorial boards of the huge government publishing firms. Finally, all literary work that appears in print must receive the approval of Glavlit, the official government censorship office. Should a literary work pass safely through this formidable array, and be published with some undetected ideological impurity, which occasionally happens, it is almost certain to be pounced upon by reviewers (literary magazines as well as books are reviewed). And if there is any hesitation to review the work, which is sometimes the case, or if reviewers have failed to criticize offending ideological faults, an officially inspired statement appears in the press to set matters aright. This usually elicits recantations all around--from the author, officials of the Union of Writers, the editorial head of the responsible magazine or publishing house, the incautious reviewer, and often from the editor of the publication in which the erring review appeared. ~~It is safe to say that few of the notable artistic works of Soviet literature of the past--and there have been some very fine ones--would be officially acceptable if offered for publication in this postwar period of rigid regimentation. When they are occasionally reprinted, textual changes are introduced in order to bring them "up to date" ideologically.~~

SIMMONS: (CONT) Today the positive hero of Soviet fiction is nearly always a Communist, cast in the father-image of Stalin. The unfailing success-story of Soviet novels and plays today must serve psychologically as the wish-fulfilment of countless hard-pressed peasants on collective farms and laborers in factories. ~~For in its~~ postwar development, Soviet literature has become the perfect propaganda instrument, for it is presenting for popular consumption a series of consistent, idealized Communist heroes who--the Party no doubt hopes--will stand in their personal lives, heroic actions, and unswerving loyalty to the regime as instructive models ~~for the average citizen.~~ In short, through official controls, Soviet literature today is obliged to reflect a negative sense of reality--the idealization of life in the Soviet Union which the Party foists upon the public both as a reflection of Communist aspirations and as an opiate to minister to its discontent.

MIDDLE BREAK

(MUSIC: _ _ UP TO FINISH)

ANNCR: Our program continues following a ten-second pause for
station identification.

(PAUSE: _ _ 10 SECONDS)

(MUSIC: _ _ SNEAK UP AND FADE)

ANNCR: You are listening to "People Under Communism". . .
a series of full-hour programs based on documented
evidence and expert knowledge about the power and
intentions of the Soviet Union. We continue now with
"Art to Order."
~~"Controls in Soviet Russian Culture."~~

(MUSIC: _ _ UP AND UNDER)

(MUSIC: _ _ _MURADELI'S "WILL OF STALIN": ESTABLISH, FADE BACK FOR:)

NARR: We are listening to "The Will of Stalin Led Us" by the Soviet composer, Vano Muradeli. Another work by this composer, an opera entitled "THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP" was the match that fired a powder keg under the whole musical world of Russia in 1948. Not only was Muradeli caught in the explosion, but some of the greatest names in music today: Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Miaskovsky.

(FAUSE)

(MUSIC: _ _ _MURADELI'S "WILL OF STALIN" UP: CONCLUDES)

NARR: It all started in 1947. On November 7th of that year the Soviet Union celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Revolution. Among other works especially written for the occasion was the opera "THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP" by a Georgian composer, Vano Muradeli. The "Big Four" of Russian music, however, contributed little or nothing for the event. Prokofiev, for example, was too busy to be bothered. He was completing his Sixth Symphony, which was to be played in Moscow on Christmas Day. It was played on Christmas Day...

(MUSIC: _ _ _SIXTH SYMPHONY: ESTABLISH AND CHOP ABRUPTLY)

NARR: and was destined not to be heard again; it was denounced by the authorities as being "formalist." Khachaturian wrote a Symphonic Poem which was also branded as "formalist" music, but it was the Party's reaction to Muradeli's opera that really touched off the furor culminating in the Decree issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party condemning

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same thing*

NARR: (CONT) the music of almost every top composer in Russia.
~~Here is what~~
~~what exactly~~ is meant by the term "formalism" as used
by the Soviet authorities?

AUTHORITY I: "Formalism is usually considered to denote a lack of
ideas, a lack of content, a complete concentration on
form with no reference to reality.
"When this happens, it may be due not only to laziness,
but to a lack of boldness and courage. Hence the tendency
to imitate Western Bourgeois art and contemporary
modernism. In such cases the composer has not the
strength to look our great future straight in the face.
The composer must struggle against this tendency to
distort, against this laziness, this lack of courage;
and in this struggle he should be greatly helped by
the stern, but friendly care shown him by the Party."

NARR: From this it would seem that "formalism" is about
everything the Soviet leaders don't happen to like in
music. This definition is reflected in the Central
Committee's Resolution of 1948 on music. The
Resolution begins with an attack on Muradeli's opera.

AUTHORITY II: "This opera is chaotic and inharmonious, full of
continuous discords which hurt one's ears. Some
allegedly melodious passages are suddenly broken off
by noises unsuitable to normal human hearing.
"The Central Committee considers that the failure of
Muradeli's opera is the result of his having followed
the formalist road--a road that has been so pernicious
to the works of Soviet composers....

(MUSIC: _ _ _ SNEAK IN UNDER AND HOLD IN B.G.)

AUTHORITY II: "The state of affairs is particularly bad in the case of symphonic and operatic music. The Central Committee has here in mind those composers who persistently adhere to the formalist and anti-people school--a school which has found its fullest expression in the works of composers like Comrades Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Shebalin, Popov, Miaskovsky and others. Their works are marked by formalist perversions, anti-democratic tendencies which are alien to the Soviet people and their artistic tastes.

"Their music savors of the present-day modernist bourgeois music of England and America."

(MUSIC: _ _ _ UP FULL TO BUTTON)

(MUSIC: _ _ _ OPENING OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S SEVENTH SYMPHONY: FADE BACK FOR:)

SIMMONS: This is Ernest Simmons again. What you have been listening to is the opening of Shostakovich's famous Seventh or Leningrad Symphony. It was first performed during the war, on March 1, 1942, in the temporary Soviet capital of Kuibishev, and it was uniformly hailed then as his greatest work in the Soviet Union. In the United States symphony orchestras vied with one another for the privilege of first performing the composition here. Now let us hear a bit more of this work, for I want our musical experts who are present with us today in the studio to give us their reactions to this piece. There are here Mr. Deems Taylor, composer and well-known musical commentator; Mr. Henry Cowell, the well-known American composer; and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky, who is noted as an author of books and articles on music, and especially as an authority on Russian music.

delete }

(MUSIC: _ _ _ A PORTION OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S SEVENTH SYMPHONY BETWEEN NO. 55 AND NO. 60. FADE BACK FOR:)

*Simon
sits*

SIMMONS: Now despite the unqualified praise of this symphony before the war, since the musical resolution of the Central Committee in 1948, these very passages you've heard, as well as much else of this Seventh Symphony, have been singled out by Soviet critics for their grotesque and dissonant qualities, for the formalistic trend of the music, and the absence of folk themes. On the basis of what you have just heard, do you think this criticism justifiable? Mr. Deems Taylor.

TAYLOR: No, I can't say that I do. I think Shostakovich does do a great deal of experimenting which I think is praiseworthy, and as far as the absence of Russian folk music is concerned it seems to me that the whole tendency of a criticism of this sort boils down to "let's go back to Tschaikovsky." Apparently anything that shows any signs of objective writing is objectionable.

(SIMMONS: This is Mr. Cowell.)

COWELL: Yes, but don't you think that after all music grows through experiment and that people appreciate the growth?

TAYLOR: Oh, very definitely yes, but they are slow to appreciate it.

SIMMONS: Would you agree with that, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Well, I both agree and disagree. First of all I want to point out that even at the time of the first performance of the Seventh Symphony there was some criticism of its musical treatment in the Soviet Union, primarily because
-more-

SLONIMSKY: (CONT) Shostakovich seems to have been more successful with the musical characteristics of the Nazi theme rather than the Russian theme.

COWELL: Well, do you think that this may have had something to do with the change? Although there was some early criticism, don't you think it's true that there has been a great deal of change in the reception even to these early things? And I have often wondered whether they did not at that time regard Shostakovich as an emissary of Soviet music to the Western world and therefore condoned, so to speak, its partly Western influence.

SLONIMSKY: Yes, perhaps. But the point was first of all that the Soviet critics at that time regarded Shostakovich less of a missionary in the Western world, for which they cared little even at that time, than the possible expressive medium for Soviet national music. Therefore they felt that Shostakovich should have represented the Russian national motives with perhaps greater force than he did.

SIMMONS: But after the 1948 decree, Shostakovich appears to have changed his own mind. For he recanted. To quote: "I deviated in the direction of formalism and began to speak a language incomprehensible to the people. Now when the Party and our entire nation condemned this tendency in my music, I know that the Party is right." In short, you see, everyone seemed to be right, until the Party, on second thought, said they were wrong in a matter of musical taste. So, let us see how

SIMMONS: (CONT) Shostakovich reformed himself and began to compose in a musical language which he now believes is comprehensible to the people--and the Party. I should like to play for you the first movement of his "Song of the Forests," an oratorio which won a Stalin prize in 1949 for Shostakovich, only one year after this disgrace.

change
X (MUSIC: -- FIRST MOVEMENT OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S "SONG OF THE FORESTS":
FADE BACK FOR:)

SIMMONS: Now, gentlemen, you have, so to speak, in these selections from the Seventh Symphony of Shostakovich and the "Song of the Forests" the "before" and "after" of his musical history. I wonder, Mr. Cowell, whether you think, judging on the basis of this "Song of the Forests," that Western influences have been eliminated. In what way does this piece employ traditional Russian themes?

COWELL: I don't know very much about traditional Russian themes but I think it is very Western in style.

SIMMONS: Mr. Slonimsky.

SLONIMSKY: I should say that this contains elements of modern music in general--modern Russian music stemming from Moussorgsky --it is not necessarily Western music or Western influences. My contention is that no composer can absolutely renounce the entire heritage of modern music.

SIMMONS: But don't you think ^{Mr. Slonimsky} that this does violence to the progressive musical idiom of Shostakovich?

SLONIMSKY: I definitely do. It certainly does violence to his musical integrity. As a matter of fact it is very characteristic, very interesting, that several musicians,
-more-

SLONIMSKY: (CONT) after the first hearing of the "Song of the Forests" said that Shostakovich had betrayed himself, had deliberately paid lip service to the accepted new ideas in Soviet music.

SIMMONS: Yes, but if he had to continue to write in this vein, what would you prophesy as to its musical future. What would you think about that, Mr. Taylor?

TAYLOR: I should say that his musical future is all in the past. He stopped being Shostakovich and he has gone back to Brahms or early Brahms. It is perfectly harmless music.

SIMMONS: Mr. Cowell.

COWELL: I think that in the tunes of this song, in which he observes what certainly appears to be enforced simplicity, that these tunes are in themselves not Shostakovich but that you can find the same tunes in the work of almost any other composer both from earlier Russian composers and from other Western composers of a former age.

SIMMONS: Well, it would almost seem, Mr. Cowell, then, that these efforts of the Soviet musical officials are pretty hopeless; that Western influences, like murder, will out. But let us remember that other famous composers seemed to have successfully recanted their formalistic Western sins and won Stalin prizes since the purification drive of 1948; for example, Khachaturian and Prokofiev. Do you happen to know, Mr. Slonimsky, whether Khachaturian's brilliant and original musical idiom has been sacrificed to mass intelligibility in his latest pieces?

SLONIMSKY: Yes. Khachaturian as well as Shostakovich, and to a lesser extent other composers, have undoubtedly sacrificed their musical integrity in trying to adapt themselves to the so-called people's idiom.

SIMMONS: Mr. Taylor.

TAYLOR: It seems to me that in one respect the Soviet musical authorities are certainly hopelessly not Western--I mean that we will never get together, I don't think, in our standards.

SIMMONS: But would you agree, coming back to Khachaturian, Mr. Slonimsky, that his recantation at the time of the decree of the resolution of the Central Committee was an abject performance from the point of view of a creative art?

SLONIMSKY: Oh, his verbal recantation was certainly an extraordinary document when he stood up and said that he was all wrong and sort of begged for forgiveness. There is something of the prodigal son business in this whole thing. If I may be allowed just a half minute time I should like to recount the most extraordinary episode that happened to Khachaturian when a critic writing before 1948 praised the Symphonic Poem of Khachaturian. This critic as a matter of fact praised this Symphonic Poem in advance without first hearing it, whereupon Khachaturian, that was, after the 1948 denunciation, wrote a violent vehement letter to the editor of the official bulletin of the Soviet embassy in Washington protesting against the praise lavished on him and emphasizing the fact that his work was extremely poor

SLONIMSKY: (CONT) and formalist and not worthy of any praise, and denouncing the critic for praising himself. I believe that this episode is unique in music ~~in~~ history.

SIMMONS: There does not seem to be much more to be said about Khachaturian's recantation, but I suppose by all odds Prokofiev has been one of the most individualistic of Soviet composers and one wonders, Mr. Cowell, whether his particular genius, unlike the disciplined ^{Communist} genius of Shostakovich, can continue to function with anything like maximum effectiveness under such rigorous controls.

COWELL: I don't think so, because the rigid control sets up certain particular standards, such as the avoidance of dissonance, as being something that wouldn't be suitable for people to listen to, and it seems to me that the natural style of Shostakovich is a style that demands free handling of dissonance and possibly that if left to his own devices without the support of the Central Party and their firm ruling on this subject, that he might even have dabbled in atonality, who knows; but obviously he can't hope to retain his position as a professional composer and still do that under the present circumstances in Russia.

SIMMONS: Of course I myself, incidentally, haven't heard any of the post-1948 music of Prokofiev so I am not in a position to say whether or not he has changed in his medium in the face of the Resolution of the Central Committee. Have you by any chance, Mr. Slonimsky, heard any of it?

SLONIMSKY: Oh, yes, I have heard it. In fact I have the music of some of his post-1948 compositions. Now what strikes me in the whole Prokofiev business was that he was the only one who did not recant completely. I will play for you a few tunes from his work, "Guarding the Peace," the work that was written in 1950 and generally praised, and you will find that it is definitely not according to Hoyle, that is, not according to Soviet Hoyle.

Recant ✓
(MUSIC: _ _ _ PIANO: "GUARDING THE PEACE")

SLONIMSKY: Soviet critics said that this is not exactly a singable melody, and this was written for a children's chorus, which means that Prokofiev just can't help himself; he wanted, and at least he said that he wanted, to write melody, but this is not melody in the Pickwickian sense, I mean in the Soviet sense.

SIMMONS: Mr. Cowell.

COWELL: I was wondering if perhaps we couldn't speak about a change of policy there, because at one time Mr. Sch^heperson, who had a great deal to do with music representative of the official point of view, seems to have changed his mind about a number of Westerners. There was a time, for instance, when my own music was praised by him and when I was referred to as being among the more promising composers in this country, which at this time was not meant as a harsh criticism. Then later on it would appear that I devote myself entirely to making money with the aid of Wall Street, and that for my extremism and formalism and pure discord and absolute clowning at the piano and for the waving of my non-existent black marcelled locks that I get paid huge sums

COWELL: (CONT) of money from Wall Street, which of course

means that I am no longer a promising composer.

SIMMONS: Mr. Taylor, it appears that the Soviet musical officials feel that music should have a mass appeal. I wonder whether you feel that if music has to cater to what you might call a mass intelligibility, does that seriously interfere with the composer's art?

TAYLOR: I think it very seriously and very emphatically does interfere because what it boils down to is that he must write ^{music-} only such music as will have immediate acceptance by a musically illiterate audience. Well, that's true enough that music can be good and still have immediate acceptance, but it doesn't necessarily mean that that's the only kind of music ^{that's good} or that it will eventually be accepted. I think that the Soviets leave no margin for any growth in appreciation of music. If everything must be a tune rather than a theme, music will remain static. It allows no room for experimentation either in content or in form.

COWELL: I am wondering very much whether people really like music all alike all the time. Don't you think that the person who decides what people like usually thinks they only like one thing, whereas people really like a very wide variety of things. I wonder then what is music which is of the people, and what is music which could possibly be opposed to the people.

SIMMONS: Well, I must say that as I listen to a great deal of Soviet music I am frankly mystified as to what they consider anti-people and music that is intelligible to the masses of the people. Maybe you can shed some light on this, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Perhaps I can. I will ^{simply} play for you some pieces based on natural folk song melodies which the Soviet regard as democratic music, that is as pro-people music, and then melodies that are more artificial, that is modern melodies which the Soviets regard as anti-people. Now I will illustrate the one kind, the pre-1948 kind and the post-1948 kind. (PAUSE) Now here is a melody from Shostakovich's Cello Sonata which was written in 1934 and which was regarded as following the popular idiom, that is, the idiom understandable to the masses.

Next }
(MUSIC: _ _ _ PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: On the other hand a prelude by Shostakovich written at about the same time abounds in all kinds of strange melodic ~~tunes~~ ^{turns}. Now this kind of composition was regarded as anti-democratic, anti-people.

(MUSIC: _ _ _ PIANO)

TAYLOR: You know, it seems to me that this "mother-knows-best" attitude of the Central Committee conveys the most utter contempt for the musical intelligence of the masses. These men, who tell a composer what to write, pretend to be of the masses. What they mean is - "I am the masses and I don't like that piece. So I am going to call it anti-people." After all if Beethoven and Bach and Brahms and Schumann and Mozart survived, the people who have kept them alive have not been any Central Committee nor any kind of music credit. It is because of the so-called masses that these composers live today-- because people want to hear them. I have read somewhere that that Union of Composers undertakes to tell a given composer in what form his next composition will be.

- TAYLOR: (CONT) They'll say, "Well, you've written four string quartets, now you've got to lay off string quartets and write an overture."
- SLONIMSKY: I think this is a slight exaggeration. They urge composers to write melodically, whatever this word may mean, and the Central Committee urges the Union of Soviet Composers, and the Union of Soviet Composers urges themselves, because they are the composers, to write choral pieces--to write for voice rather than to write for the instruments.
- SIMMONS: Is there a disposition on the whole to denounce instrumental or symphonic music as against vocalic music, opera?
- SLONIMSKY: Yes, absolutely. There is no definite denunciation but there is criticism of Soviet composers, particularly of composers like Prokofiev and Miaskovsky, to some extent Shostakovich, that they fail to write folk music, which is supposed to be the natural form of self-expression in music.
- TAYLOR: And is also the most restricted.
- SLONIMSKY: Very true, so here we have a struggle there, but I don't believe it would be accurate to say that the Union of Soviet Composers actually prescribes the form of composition; otherwise Prokofiev would not have written eight sonatas, Miaskovsky wouldn't have written seven symphonies, etc., etc.
- SIMMONS: In a recent issue of a Soviet magazine, Sovetskoye Iskusstvo^o, there has been a demand for what they call variety music and they make a distinction, I sometimes

SIMMONS: (CONT) think a rather specious distinction, between their conception of variety music and our conception of jazz. Actually I have been under the impression that there has been a real fondness for jazz in the Soviet Union, and one of the most difficult tasks the musical leaders have today is to agitate against American jazz. I wonder if you feel that this matter of variety music is again a concession to jazz music in America, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Undoubtedly it is a concession to popular music. I would modify this statement so as to say it is a concession to the American type of sentimental ballad. However, there was some jazz in Russia years ago. What kind of jazz it was you can hear from this little quotation from a song, supposedly a jazz song about love by Dunayevsky, who is a holder of the order of Lenin and Stalin prizes, and so forth. I will play it for you.

(MUSIC: -- -- PIANO: SELECTION FROM DUNAYEVSKY)

TAYLOR: That went out about 1898 here.

SLONIMSKY: Yes, well, that is what I mean. So this is Soviet jazz about 1935, but even this form of Soviet jazz went out of existence. What goes for popular music now in the Soviet Union is the sentimental ballad. Well, here is a sample of a popular sentimental ballad of 1949.

(MUSIC: -- -- PIANO: USE RECORDING WITHOUT SINGING)

TAYLOR: It sounds like bad Stephen Foster.

SIMMONS: Of course, some Soviet music also becomes "popular music" in the United States. We can conclude our discussion of Soviet music with a few bars from a song which none of our listeners will fail to recognize--Khachaturian's "Sabre Dance."

(MUSIC: -- FEW BARS OF "SABRE DANCE")

SIMMONS: Now, in this total program dealing largely with the subject of controls in Soviet art, one might say that down through the ages right up to the present time art everywhere has always been subject to forms of control. Clearly the artist, whether he be a composer, writer, painter, or dramatist, and whether his metier be realism or fantasy, cannot escape the compelling influence of the imperatives of his social environment or the idols of his own creative personality. He is never a wholly free spirit. But whatever open or hidden controls may exist for the Western artist--economic, social, legal, or personal--the fact remains that he always has freedom of choice to select his subject and treat it as he desires--a vital condition for the proper functioning of the creative artist. But the Soviet artist today does not enjoy this freedom of choice. Limits are placed on the areas of human experience he can reflect in art, and his creative mind is restricted to the patterns of ideas, beliefs, and loyalties prescribed by the Party. Today, it would appear, the whole of Soviet art must be devoted to the greater glory of the Communist Party.

"Art to Order,"

ANNCR:

You have just heard ~~"Controls in Soviet Russian Culture,"~~
one in a series of full-hour programs--"People Under
Communism"--based on documented evidence and expert
knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet
Union.

Materials for this broadcast were supplied by Dr.
Ernest J. Simmons, Chairman of the Department of Slavic
Languages at Columbia University. This series as a
whole was prepared in consultation with scholars from
the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, the
Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University,
and the Russian Institute of Columbia University.

Guests on this program were Mr. Deems Taylor, composer
and well-known musical commentator, Mr. Henry Cowell,
well-known American composer, and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky,
noted authority on Russian music.

"Art to Order"

~~This program~~ was written by Robert and Edith Soderberg.
Jackson Beck was the narrator. This program was
~~and~~ produced and directed by Frank Papp.

These programs are prepared and distributed by the
National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM

Script No. 1

"Terror as a System of Power."

ANNCR: PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM

(MUSIC: _ UP AND UNDER)

ANNCR: This is a true series of full-hour programs based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union. This series is presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in consultation with scholars from the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, the Russian Institute of Columbia University, and the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University. The program you are about to hear--"Terror as a System of Power"--is based on materials and counsel provided by Dr. Merle Fainsod, Professor of Government at Harvard.

(MUSIC: _ UP TO FINISH)

ANNCR: Dr. Merle Fainsod is not only the author of books on American government, but is also well known for his writings about the government of the Soviet Union. He has traveled in Russia, interviewed many escapees from the Soviet Union, and is director of political studies at Harvard's Russian Research Center. Here is Dr. Fainsod to introduce our program, "Terror as a System of Power."

FAINSOD: The other day I told a friend of mine that we were planning a radio program on the Soviet secret police. He looked at me sceptically and asked, "Will people listen?" I came back with another question, "Why won't they listen?" "Oh," he said, "we have heard so many stories of concentration camp brutalities that our interest has become dulled and our capacity for indignation exhausted. Terror has become commonplace."

Terror HAS become commonplace. A third of the world's population lives in its shadow. If the men in the Kremlin have their way, there will be many others. If we are to prevent that from happening, we need to know how the Soviet secret police operates, how it developed, and where it appears to be going. This program tells that story - in the authentic language of the historical record - without embroidery and without sensationalism. The practitioners of terror speak in their own words; the voices of the victims which you will hear come from official documents and the reports of living witnesses.

ANNCR: And now - "Terror as a System of Power."

(MUSIC: - INTERNATIONALE AND FADE TO:)

SOUND: A NASTY WIND

VOICE I: Aksakov!

VOICE II: Here.

VOICE I: Belov!

VOICE III: Here.

VOICE I: Vassiliev!

VOICE IV: (WEAKLY) Here---

VOICE I: (FADING) Deschenko!

SOUND: FADE THE WIND. ---FADE IT UP AGAIN

VOICE V: S^oroka!

WOMAN: Here.

VOICE V: Ch^achib^aya!

WOMAN II: Here.

VOICE V: (FADING) Luky^anova!

WOMAN III: (FADING) Here.

NARRATOR: These people are prisoners. In the dark, before dawn, they are being checked off in work brigades. Soon they will be led away under guard to their place of work----a forest, perhaps, where they will fell trees; or a gold or coal mine. They will work until after sunset. Then they will be marched back to their camp, carefully watched by men and dogs, to be served a meal the size of which will be strictly determined by the amount of work they accomplished during the day. The food will be inadequate
-more-

NARRATOR: and poor, but they will devour it nonetheless. Afterwards, exhausted, they will disperse to their wooden barracks, find their places in its tiers of bunks, and often without undressing, drop upon them to sleep--and to be free--for a few hours.

SOUND: FADE UP THE WIND

VOICE I: Evdokimov!

VOICE VI: Sick.

VOICE I: Zaitsev!

VOICE VI: Refuses.

VOICE I: (ROUGHLY) So? Where is he?

VOICE VI: Barrack Number Six.

VOICE I: So?

SOUND: FADE THE WIND

NARRATOR: How many of these people there may be we do not know accurately. The Soviet government does not give that information. There may be as many as seven or eight million or as few as three and a half million. The secret Soviet Plan for 1941, which the Germans captured and which fell into American hands at the end of the war, discloses that the NKVD's forced labor program accounted for 12 per cent of the capital investment budget, 6.8 billion rubles out of a total of 57 billion rubles. A careful analysis of this highly revealing document indicates a minimum of 3,500,000 concentration camp inmates. In their book, "Forced Labor in Soviet Russia," Dallin and Nicolaevsky list well over a hundred identifiable places where prisoners are confined, but point out that the list is far from complete. Huge camp clusters, like

-more

Dalstroy in far eastern Siberia, number their inmates in the hundreds of thousands. The camp sites dot the map of European Russia and Siberia; many of them lie above the Arctic circle. Indeed, the industrial exploitation of the vast frigid zone region of the Soviet Union might well have proved impossible without the use of prison camp labor.

SOUND: FADE UP WIND. PAIRS OF FEET CLUMPING IN SNOW. CREAKY DOOR. FEET ON BOARDS.

VOICE I: Zaitsev!

SOUND: AFTER A MOMENT, THE SHOELESS CREAK OF THIS MAN'S FEET ON THE BOARDS. THE FEET DRAG. THEN STOP.

ZAITSEV: Here, Citizen Commandant. (DULL DESPAIR)

VOICE I: Refuser, eh?

ZAITSEV: Look at my feet, Citizen Commandant.

VOICE I: I asked you a question.

ZAITSEV: These are just rags on my feet. It's forty below zero outside. I can't work with nothing to cover my feet except these rags, Citizen Commandant.

VOICE I: What was the name of the one that you reported sick?

VOICE VI: Evdokimov, Citizen Commandant.

VOICE I: He's from this barrack, isn't he?

VOICE VI: Yes, Citizen Commandant.

VOICE I: Take his shoes and give them to this shirker here. What's your work-norm, Zaitsev?

ZAITSEV: Second category, Citizen Commandant.

VOICE I: Five hundred grams bread ration, eh? Put Zaitsev on the punishment ration.

ZAITSEV: Three hundred grams, Citizen Commandant!

VOICE I: And if I hear any more about refusing, Zaitsev, off you go to the isolator. You deserve to go there now.

ZAITSEV: Citiz----

VOICE I: Shut up! Put on Evdokimov's shoes and join your brigade. I'll make a decent Soviet citizen out of you yet if I have to kill you to do it. Carry on!

SOUND: THE HEAVY FEET FADE. DOOR. WIND. DOOR CLOSING

ZAITSEV: (DULL) Yes, Citizen Commandant.

VOICE VI: Come on. Let's get Evdokimov's shoes. You got off pretty easy, comrade, believe me.

ZAITSEV: Maybe--if I just froze to death, I'd get off easier.

NARRATOR: The largest category of labor-camp prisoners is that of the 'political' offenders. The ordinary criminal constitutes a second category of labor-camp prisoners---this one, by all accounts, enjoys much more favorable treatment from camp administrators than do the 'political' prisoners. The camps are under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the MVD. At the end of the war, the old Commissariat of Internal Affairs---the NKVD---was finally divided into two Ministries: the MVD, already mentioned, and the Ministry of State Security, the MGB. To this last Ministry, the MGB, has been given all those functions of the old NKVD which together make up the huge secret police

-more-

NARRATOR: and terror apparatus of the Soviet Government. We have no
(CONT) authoritative current information concerning the structure of
the MGB; but there is a great deal available, in the reports
of escapees, about that of its predecessor, the NKVD. One
of its sections administered the great network of prison-camps
already mentioned. Another section was charged with the duty
of guarding the Soviet borders. Still another, a fully organ-
ized military force of a half-million picked soldiers, was
responsible for the internal security of the state, its protection
against disorder and uprisings. There were many other sections.
For instance:

SOUND: PHONE. RECEIVER UP

VOICE: General of Division Nicolsky speaking.

VOICE II: (FILTER) Investigator Varanov, Special Section of the NKVD
here. Will you be good enough, General, to see me at the
Special Section office this evening, at eleven o'clock?

VOICE I: (LESS ASSURED) Very well, Comrade Investigator.

SOUND: THE RECEIVER DOWN SLOWLY

NARRATOR: (QUIETLY) The Special Section concerned itself with the loy-
alty of the armed forces. (FADING SLIGHTLY) Another section-----
The Economic Administration-- dealt with wrecking, production
failures, sabotage, and, in general, with what is called 'coun-
ter-revolutionary' activity in Soviet industry and agriculture.
A VOICE: The foreman, Comrade Investigator, seems unable to explain why
the boring machines are not giving results within the tolerance
limits required.

VOICE II: His name?

VOICE: Larin, Piotre Alexandrovich.

VOICE II: (FADING) Where does he live?

NARRATOR: A Secret Political Administration protected the regime against the possible effects of "impermissible" political activity within or without the Communist Party ranks:

VOICE I: (DEDICATED) I feel it my duty, Comrade Investigator, to lay before you my doubts concerning Comrade Koryabin's reliability.

VOICE II: Yes?

VOICE I: At our last unit meeting, during the discussion of the need for constant vigilance against the Bukharinite-Trotskyite bloc of wreckers and spies, Comrade Koryabin stated that some of those already arrested and punished may not be guilty of counter-revolutionary activity. (BEGINNING TO FADE) Now, when you compare that remark with what he said in his address to the Komsomol Committee last-----

NARRATOR: Church and religious sects, national minorities, and members of the intelligentsia were all objects of the Secret Political Administration's interest. Another section, the Counter-Intelligence Administration, sought out foreign agents within the country, and carefully checked on foreign visitors and embassies. The Foreign Administration was principally an espionage organization operating outside the Soviet Union; one of its duties was to keep an eye on Soviet personnel stationed in foreign countries. As the Canadian spy investigation in 1946 revealed, it also recruited agents from among Communists, Communist sympathizers, and others, who passed along information of interest to the Soviet Government.

(MUSIC: THE INTERNATIONALE SONG STRONGLY)

NARRATOR: Why did that song and the aspirations it stood for lead to the development of this great organization of espionage, terror and enslavement? More specifically, why did that great dream of the Russian people which seemed, in the spring months of 1917, even among the horrors and suffering of war, so close to realization--- why did that dream lead, not to liberty, but to this:

SOUND: THE WIND AGAIN

VOICE: Aksakov!

VOICE II: Here.

VOICE I: Belóv!

VOICE III: Here.

VOICE I: (FADE) Vassiliev!

VOICE IV: (FAINTLY) Here---

NARRATOR: A prophetic observation of Leon Trotsky's, made in 1904, is worth considering as we attempt to answer these questions:

TROTSKY: In Lenin's scheme, the Party takes the place of the working class, the Party organization displaces the Party; the Central Committee displaces the Party organization, and, finally, the dictator displaces the Central Committee.

NARRATOR: An often-quoted remark, attributed to Mikhail Tomsy, a leading Bolshevik who was later to commit suicide during the great purge of 1936-38, supports Trotsky's analysis of Lenin's philosophy of politics:

TOMSKY: Certainly, two, three, or four parties may exist under the conditions of working class dictatorship; but only provided that one party is in power----and all of the rest---in prison.

NARRATOR: While it would not be true to say that all Bolsheviks subscribed to Tomsky's view of the Party's role, it is true that such a conception exerted a determining effect upon its attitude when it seized power in November, 1917. It was a view, moreover, which gained added force and prestige from the support it received from Lenin himself. Only a few days after the seizure of power, for example, Lozovsky, a Party member, protested vigorously against what he saw happening:

LOZOVSKY: I deem it my duty to make the following statement: I cannot, in the name of party discipline, be silent when I feel with all my soul that the tactics of the Central Committee are leading to the isolation of the advance guard of the proletariat, to civil war within the working class, and to the defeat of the great revolution. I cannot, in the name of party discipline, be silent when I see what is being done with the press; when I see before me houndings and persecutions, searches and arrests--all of which arouse the masses and lead them to think that the dictatorship of the proletariat which the socialists have preached for decades is the same old regime of the club and the sabre.

NARRATOR: The course of future developments within the Bolshevik Party, is implicit in Lenin's stinging answer to Comrade Lozovsky's criticism of the Party's tactics:

LENIN: The Central Committee has already presented an ultimatum to the leading advocates of your policy requiring them to submit unconditionally to the decisions of the Central Committee and its program, and to refrain from subversive activity of any kind.

NARRATOR: And two months later, Lozovsky was expelled.....

TROTSKY: The Party takes the place of the working class, the Party organization displaces the Party; the Central Committee displaces the Party organization---

NARRATOR: And in time, the dictator was to displace the Central Committee...
...During those first days of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Party's membership did not exceed 200,000. In spite of the fact that it had the support of many industrial workers of Petrograd and Moscow, of some of the army contingents stationed in and around Petrograd, and of the bulk of the sailors at the nearby Kronstadt naval base, the Party represented only a small percentage of the population of Russia. Regardless of its minority status, however, it refused to share power with any political group which would not accept completely the Party program. When, in January, 1918, the long-awaited Constituent Assembly met in Petrograd to create a constitutional government for the country, it was dissolved by a show of force, for the obvious reason that the Bolshevik Party would have been easily out-voted by the preponderant non-Bolshevik parties. A member of one of those parties put the matter in these words:

A TIRED VOICE: On our side were legality, great ideals and faith in the triumph of democracy. On their side were activity, machine guns, weapons.

NARRATOR: Against such a background of thought and action, it is hardly surprising that one of the first moves of the Soviet Government, now in control of the Bolshevik Party, was the organization of a secret police: the Cheka. Less than a year after the abolition of the Czarist terror apparatus, the Okhrana, a new one was being created, and with a similar end in view: the maintenance in power of a minority group. The decree establishing the Cheka---or All-Russian Extraordinary Commission---clearly defined its duties:

VOICE: First: To persecute and liquidate all attempts and acts of counter-revolution and sabotage all over Russia, no matter what their origin. Second: To hand over to the Revolutionary Tribunal all counter-revolutionists and saboteurs and work out measures of struggle against them. Third: To make preliminary investigations only insofar as that may be necessary for suppression.

NARRATOR: By "counter-revolutions" and "saboteurs" the Council of People's Commissars was not only thinking of the disenfranchised nobility and bourgeoisie; it also had explicitly in mind members of the parties of the left, who, refusing to accept the Bolshevik program, nonetheless persisted in carrying on political activity. It was for the Cheka to decide when this activity overstepped the limits of permissible protest:

VOICE: The Commission is to watch the press, saboteurs, strikers, and Right Socialist Revolutionaries.

NARRATOR: Revolutionary tribunals were also established to try those accused of such activity and to fix penalties:

VOICE: In accordance with....the circumstances of the case, and the dictates of the revolutionary conscience.

NARRATOR: One of the chiefs of the Cheka, Latsis, declared:

LATSIS: We are no longer waging war against separate individuals, we are exterminating the bourgeoisie as a class. Do not seek in the dossier of the accused for proofs as to whether or not he opposed the Soviet government by word or deeds....The first questions that should be put is to what class he belongs, of what extraction, what education and profession. These questions should decide the fate of the accused. Herein lies the meaning and the essence of the Red Terror.

NARRATOR: But members of the former propertied classes were not the only ones to bear the brunt of the Chek onslaught. Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries suffered as well. Besides these political victims, peasants who resisted grain requisitionings for the Red Army also felt the heavy hand of the Chek's terror. Along with the Red Terror there was a White Terror of equal ferocity; during this period of civil war tens of thousands lost their lives, victims of one or the other--indeed the actual figure may have been in the hundreds of thousands.....Yet as the Cheka intensified its activities behind the lines of the Red Armies, warning voices were heard within the Bolshevik ranks;

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NARRATOR: the question was raised, for instance, as to how the activities (CONT.)

of the Cheka could be controlled, the widening of its jurisdiction halted. At the Second All-Russian Conference of Commissars of Justice at Moscow, in July, 1918, a Comrade Lebedev raised the crucial question:

LEEDEV: I admit, comrades, the necessity for the existence of these Extraordinary Commissions. But I wish to point out that it is important to delimit their sphere of activity. Otherwise we shall have a state within a state. Comrade Terastvatsaturov has shown us how acute this question is in the provinces. To say--as he reports the President of the Orel Cheka as having said---"I am responsible to no one, my powers are such that I can shoot anybody"---demonstrates how easily an organ like the Cheka tends to widen its authority more and more.

NARRATOR: Comrade Lebedev was answered by the Commissar of Justice, Nikolai N. Krestinsky. In the light of what later happened to Commissar Krestinsky, his reply is worth remembering:

KRESTINSKY: So long as the Cheka functions, the work of justice must take a secondary place, and its sphere of activity must be considerably curtailed.

NARRATOR: A member of the Cheka, Comrade Peters, was more blunt:

PETERS: In its activity the Cheka is completely independent, carrying out searches, arrests, shootings (and) afterwards making a report to the Council of People's Commissars and the Soviet Central Executive Committee.

NARRATOR: We were asking a little while ago why the dream of liberty, which in February, 1917 seemed so close to realization, resulted instead in the great apparatus of terror and enslavement sketched at the beginning of this program. Have we now reached a point where we can begin to see the outlines of an answer, Dr. Fainsod?

FAINSOD: We have noted, for one thing, how the idea of dictatorship was implicit in the Leninist theory of politics; and, for another, how a weapon of terror, the Cheka, was forged during the period of Civil War--from the time, that is, of the Bolshevik seizure of power in November, 1917 to the autumn of 1920. Dictatorship. Terror. The two are, it would seem inevitably linked together. No doubt terror is not the only means by which a totalitarian regime maintains itself in power. Loyalty and devotion must also be elicited. But behind the facade of any dictatorship the instrument of terror can always be found, ready for use when needed---operative, above all, even when not visible, by the mere fact that it is known to be there.

NARRATOR: By the end of 1920, then, the two elements which were to play such important roles in the future life of Soviet Russia had already been revealed: the dictatorial control of state power, and secondly, the instrument by which that power could be applied: the secret police.....

(MUSIC: THE INTERNATIONALE. LESS MARKED AND FADING TO:)

NARRATOR: Soon after the inauguration of the New Economic Policy in 1921 there was an effort made to limit legally the operations of the Cheka. The N.E.P. period, in retrospect, appears a relatively mild one; to many who lived through it, it was the golden age of the Soviet regime. Only limited categories of citizens were objects of the Political Administration's special interest.... Whatever the hopes that may have been entertained by the more optimistic during this period, they were to be rudely broken toward the end of 1928 when the New Economic Policy was discontinued and Stalin inaugurated the first Five-Year Plan of rapid industrialization and the collectivization of agricultural holdings.

NARRATOR: The secret police apparatus was turned upon three classes in particular: the kulaks, the old intelligentsia, comprising many of the country's sorely needed technicians, and the class of traders which had grown up during the period of the NEP. The kulaks were "liquidated as a class" for any kind of opposition to collectivization; their "liquidation", at the least, involved exile. Many of the nepmen were also exiled; the percentage of these who were imprisoned or simply disappeared into the laboring class cannot be determined. As for the old intelligentsia, always viewed with suspicion by the Soviet government,

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NARRATOR: this class became the scapegoat for the failures and breakdowns
(CONT.) of the industrialization program. In a series of show trials arranged by the secret police, industrial failures were identified with sabotage undertaken at the behest of the foreign capitalist enemies of the Soviet state. These trials, however, by no means represented the full extent of the attack of the secret police upon the intelligentsia. Thousands were exiled, sometimes for no more reason than that they were classified as engineers. Then, after this decimation of the ranks of the country's technical leaders had resulted in an inevitable slowing down of the industrial process, a halt was called. In June, 1931, Stalin spoke:

STALIN: It would be wrong and undialectical to continue our former policy. It would be stupid and unwise to regard practically every expert and engineer of the old school as an undetected criminal and wrecker. We have always regarded and still regard expert-baiting as a harmful and disgraceful phenomenon.

NARRATOR: As a consequence of Stalin's attitude a large number of technicians who had been tried and sentenced on presumably substantial evidence as traitors and saboteurs, were now released and restored to their former positions. But with the increasing strains and tensions induced by the effort to industrialize the Soviet Union quickly, a new series of accusations, trials, and executions of technicians soon followed. The period was one during

NARRATOR: which a vast expansion took place in the OGPU or Soviet security organization.
(CONT.)

The forced labor-camp system mushroomed. The kulaks were "liquidated"----this businesslike word, applied to human beings, has taken on the grimmest connotations. Applied to the kulaks, it meant, in all cases, forcible ejection from their land. Those who physically resisted ran the risk of being shot, and some were. But most were turned over to the OGPU and so became that huge reservoir of labor which the prison-camp system exploits. Indeed, so great was this huge captive labor force that some of it was even farmed out to other Soviet enterprises which could not obtain sufficient free labor. The OGPU thus became an industrial empire as well as a security organization.

(MUSIC: _ VERY FAINTLY NOW, THE INTERNATIONALE)

NARRATOR: The realities of government by dictatorship were making the outlines of the dream of freedom fainter and fainter.
But the iron control over a population a dictatorship can exercise when necessary had not yet manifested itself completely. In July, 1934---the OGPU became a Commissariat of the Soviet government---the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs---the NKVD. By this move, all police elements and all prisons were united under a single authority. And then-----

SOUND: A SINGLE REVERBERANT PISTOL SHOT. LET IT ECHO

NARRATOR: This shot killed Sergei Kirov, member of the Politburo, friend of Stalin, and one of the top leaders of the ruling clique. The time was December, 1934. The newly reorganized terror apparatus was to assume an added task. The assassin had been a Communist Party member. The NKVD was now to apply its methods to the Party itself.

(M I D D L E B R E A K)

(MUSIC: _ UP TO FINISH)

ANNCR: Our program continues following a ten-second pause for station identification.

(PAUSE: _ 10 SECONDS)

(MUSIC: _ SNEAK UP AND FADE)

ANNCR: You are listening to "People Under Communism"....a series of full-hour programs based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about Russia's power and intentions. We continue now with "Terror as a System of Power."

(MUSIC: _ UP AND UNDER)

NARRATOR: The first victims of the new terror were, of course, the assassin, Nicolayev, and a group of his alleged confederates. Soon Zinoviev and Kamenev, old Bolshevik leaders of the first rank, were also arrested. Within a week, the head of the Leningrad NKVD, along with several subordinates, followed Zinoviev and Kamenev into prison, allegedly for having known of the Nicolayev plot and having done nothing to prevent its outcome. By the spring of 1935, thousands--possibly tens of thousands--of Party and non-Party people were arrested and deported to Siberia. They became known among the prison population as Kirov's assassins. As the purge gathered momentum, Stalin himself was heard from:

STALIN: These comrades did not always confine themselves to criticism and passive resistance. They threatened to raise a revolt in the Party against the Central Committee. More, they threatened some of us with bullets. We were obliged to handle some of these comrades roughly. But that cannot be helped.

NARRATOR: In May, 1935 the Society of Old Bolsheviks was dissolved. In the same month the Party Central Committee ordered a "cleaning" from the Party of all opposition elements. By the spring of 1936 twenty-five per cent of its members had disappeared from the Party rolls. What happened to them can only be guessed; the fact that the controlled press spoke of them as wreckers, spies, diversionists, and murderers sheltering behind the Party card, gives a clue at least to their fate. This purge was dramatized by a series of extraordinary trials which occurred

NARRATOR: during the period from 1936-1938. Three of these were public;
(CONT.)

one was secret, its result alone was revealed. The trials represented the extermination of all intra-Party opposition. The roll call of the accused is like a Who's Who of the old Party leadership. The accusations in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial were limited to charging the defendants with Kirov's assassination and plotting to assassinate other Party leaders. In the later trials the net was cast wider: connivance with the exiled Trotsky, foreign powers, or both, was alleged. In the public trials, these charges involved assertions of the existence of what seem to have been fantastic conspiracies and plots. Yet, more astounding than these charges even, were the public confessions. Only one man of this whole group denied his guilt. He was that same Nicolai Krestinsky who, as we have heard, subordinated the work of the courts to that of the Cheka in 1918 when he was Commissar of Justice. In the preliminary investigation before the public trial Krestinsky admitted the charge that he had established espionage connections with the German General Von Seeckt on the instructions of Trotsky. But at the trial:

SOUND: GET ECHO IN THIS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE

VOICE I: Accused Bukharin, do you plead guilty to the charges brought against you?

EUK: Yes, I plead guilty to the charges brought against me.

VOICE I: Accused Rykov, do you plead guilty to the charges brought against you?

RYKOV: I do.

VOICE I: Accused Yagoda, do you plead guilty to the charges brought against you?

YAGODA: I plead guilty.

VOICE I: Accused Krestinsky, do you plead guilty to the charges brought against you?

KRESTINSKY: I plead not guilty. I am not a Trotskyite. I was never a member of the bloc of Right and Trotskyites, of whose existence I was not aware. Nor have I committed any of the crimes with which I am personally charged. In particular, I plead not guilty to the charge of having had any connections with the German intelligence service.

VOICE I: Do you corroborate the confession you made at the preliminary investigation?

KRESTINSKY: Yes, at the preliminary investigation I confessed, but I have never been a Trotskyite.

VOICE I: (FADING) I repeat the question, do you plead guilty---

NARRATOR: (AS THOUGH COMMENTING DURING THE TRIAL) And later as the examination of the accused men was being conducted by Andrei Vyshinsky, then State Prosecutor, Krestinsky tried to have put in the record a letter he wrote in 1927 dissociating himself from Trotsky:

VYSH: The records contain a letter dated July 11th, 1927 taken from you during the search.

KRESTINSKY: But there is another letter of November 27th.

VYSH: There is no such letter.

KRES: That cannot be.

VYSH: Accused Rosengoltz, did you hear this dialogue?

VOICE ROS: Yes.

VYSH: Is Krestinsky a Trotskyite?

VOICE ROS: He is a Trotskyite.

VYSH: Accused Krestinsky, I ask you to listen, because you will be saying that you do not hear.

KRES: I don't feel well.

NARRATOR: And still later on the same day.

VOICE ROS: (FADE UP) Krestinsky told me about the people in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs who helped him in his work and among them he mentioned Bessonov.

VYSH: Accused Krestinsky, did you hear this testimony?

KRES: I deny it.

VYSH: Absolutely?

KRES: Absolutely.

VYSH: I have no further questions.

NARRATOR: But on the following day, when once again Vyshinsky turned to the questioning of Krestinsky, a surprising change had taken place in the prisoner with regard to his relations with Trotsky-- and his guilt:

VYSH: Accused Krestinsky, you have heard the detailed explanation Rakovsky has given of your so-called departure from Trotskyism. Do you consider Rakovsky's explanation correct?

KRES: What he says---is right.

VYSH: If what Rakovsky said is true, will you continue to deceive the Court and to deny that the testimony you gave in the preliminary investigation was true?

KRES: (PAUSE) I fully confirm the testimony I gave in the preliminary investigation.

VYSH: What then is the meaning of the statement you made yesterday, which cannot be regarded otherwise than as a piece of Trotskyite provocation in court?

KRES: Yesterday, under the influence of a momentary feeling of false shame evoked by the atmosphere of the dock and the painful impression created by the public reading of the indictment, which was aggravated by my poor health, I could not bring myself to tell the truth, I could not bring myself to say that I was guilty. In the face of world public opinion, I had not the strength to admit the truth that I had been conducting a Trotskyite struggle all along. I request the Court to register my statement that I fully and completely admit that I am guilty (BEGIN TO FADE) of all the gravest charges brought against me personally-----

NARRATOR: What explanation can be given of this double reversal of testimony? Was Krestinsky tortured overnight by the examiners of the NKVD? We do not know. Whatever the reason--and whatever the reasons for the confessions of the others, true, false, in whole or in part--one fact these trials did demonstrate: Stalin could move ruthlessly to stamp out any possibility of challenge to his own power coming from within the Party..... During this period the terror was sweeping over the whole country on an unprecedented scale. You will recall that one of the accused in the second show trial was Henry Yagoda, himself once head of the NKVD. When Yagoda fell, possibly because of

NARRATOR: Stalin's fear of his control of the NKVD apparatus, he was re-
(CONT.)

placed by Nikolai Yezhov in September, 1936; and it was under Yezhov's direction that the terror reached its peak. Arrests ran into the hundreds of thousands. Prisoners were packed into cells like sardines, and subjected, during the night, to brutal, relentless interrogations. Squads of examiners concentrated on a single prisoner with only one object in view: to extract a confession, true or false, fantastic or plausible--but in any case, a confession. Once a confession was extracted, the prisoner was returned to his overcrowded cell and waited usually for the decision of an NKVD administrative tribunal--announced to him by a prison official. The common run of prisoners received sentences of three, five, or ten years in correctional labor camps. Had not these people all signed confessions admitting they had participated in treasonable schemes and plots to overthrow the Soviet power? Leading Communists, some of them fanatical supporters of Stalin, ironically enough, were caught up in this indiscriminate purge. The leadership of the Red Army was decimated. Bureaucrats from every department of the Soviet government - diplomats, trade union officials, Komsomol leaders, trust directors, along with writers and scientists, vanished behind the walls of the NKVD prisons----and were followed by their friends, colleagues, and subordinates. A mere denunciation was frequently sufficient to start the process that ended in a prison camp or, often enough, the execution cellar. This, the Great Purge, represents terror gone

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NARRATOR: beserk: indiscriminate, but, in its special way, grimly
(CONT.) efficient. It has come to be called the "Yezhovshchina."

In 1938, as the Yezhovshchina shot out of control, the dictatorship became alarmed. By Party resolution and newspaper articles, it sought to dissociate itself from responsibility for what was taking place; party careerists were blamed for injustices--and then, the last extraordinary twist of the terror was applied. The purgers themselves were purged. The prisons now began to fill up with NKVD examiners who, the year before, had been busy extracting confessions--it was now their turn to confess. Some prisoners had the dubious satisfaction of meeting their own torturers in their cells. The purge of the purgers did not spare Yezhov--removed as head of the NKVD in July, 1938, he disappeared soon after. We do not know his ultimate fate. In 1939, Andrei Zhdanov, Politburo member, publicly made what verbal amends the dictatorship deemed necessary. Quoting the words of his master Stalin, he said:

ZHDANOV: Some of our Party leaders suffer from a lack of concern for people, for members of the Party, for workers. As a result of this heartless attitude towards people, discontent and bitterness are artificially created among a section of the Party, and the Trotskyite double-dealers artfully hook onto such embittered comrades and skillfully decoy them into the bog of Trotskyite wrecking. We must have a change in Party rules which can ensure an attentive approach and careful investigation of accusations brought against Party members which will protect

ZHDANOV: their rights from all arbitrary procedures. We must abolish
(CONT.) the resort to expulsion from the Party for trifling misdemeanors.

NARRATOR: Stalin, in the words of Professor Fainsod, had once more demonstrated his remarkable instinct for stopping short and reversing course at the brink of catastrophe.

TROTSKY: ...and finally, the dictatorship displaces the Central Committee.

(MUSIC: _ _ OFF)

NARRATOR: Under the new head of the NKVD, Lavranti Beria, the Great Purge was gradually brought under control. Many prisoners were released, restored to their old positions, and even promoted. With the Stalinist clique in absolute control of the government of the Soviet Union, the NKVD's attention was now directed toward possible sources of danger in the event of war: the victims of past purges who treasured thoughts of vengeance, and the peoples of the regions occupied by the Red Army after the signing of the pact with Hitler. In the occupied region of Poland, hundreds of thousands were swept up into the NKVD net. When the Baltic states were taken over in 1940, the same process was repeated. The pattern of coercion and terror which had worked so well within the Soviet Union was applied anew with methodical regularity. And after the German invasion, uncertain elements within the Union, like the Germans of the Volga region, experienced the same treatment of arrest, interrogation, and administrative sentence to the penal camps. After the defeat of the Nazis, the millions of Soviet nationals, prisoners of war or deported laborers, who found themselves

NARRATOR: in Germany, were assembled into camps and screened by means of
(CONT.) intensive interrogations to determine the degree of their
contamination by the capitalistic West. Once more, the labor
camps were supplied with large, fresh contingents of victims as
a result; those who had willfully taken up arms against the
Soviet state were, in most cases, summarily executed.....
What is it like to be a victim of the terror? Some of those
who suffered either as Soviet citizens or as citizens of one
of the occupied countries, have lived to report their stories.
One of them, Mr. Jerzy Gliksman, formerly a Polish citizen, and
now a citizen of the United States, has set down the details
of his own experience in his book, "Tell the West," published
in English by the Gresham Press in 1948. Mr. Gliksman's ac-
count is remarkable for the objectivity with which he was able
to report the harrowing impact of the terror upon the mind and
body of a victim. His story takes on added interest for many
of us because Mr. Gliksman was the half-brother of Victor
Alter, one of the leaders of the Socialist movement in Poland.
It will be recalled that Victor Alter's execution by the Soviet
government, along with that of his colleague, Henry K. Erlich,
caused worldwide protests when it finally became known in 1943.
Mr. Gliksman was a Warsaw lawyer in 1939, and a member of the
Warsaw City Council. He holds degrees from the Sorbonne and
the University of Warsaw; and has taught at Roosevelt College,
Chicago. Here is Dr. Fainsod to interview Mr. Gliksman.

FAINSOD: Mr. Gliksman, how did you come to be arrested?

GLIKSMAN: My story begins in 1939, when the Germans approached Warsaw.

I was not yet mobilized. But on September the 17th, when I was already in the eastern part of Poland, the Soviet Army occupied half of Poland, the eastern half of Poland.

At this time my brother, Victor Alter, was arrested in Kovel.

I tried to help him but I didn't manage and later I was arrested myself. The Soviet Secret Police comes in and they, for the first few weeks, make use of local citizens, former communists or present communists, arm them and let them do several services for them. And so three boys with red arm-bands stopped me and arrested me. They worked under orders from the NKVD, and I was brought immediately into the office and later into the prison of the NKVD.

FAINSOD: Mr. Gliksman, was any charge made against you?

GLIKSMAN: For a long time no charge was made at all, but right in the beginning I had to pass an experience that was engraved in my memory more than any other experience. This was the Soviet "obisk." You may translate it in English as "search." This is really a Soviet institution that over and over again I had to pass in all my wanderings over Soviet prisons and camps. But the first time was the most shocking, because unexpected. The man, who was a Soviet officer of the NKVD, simply without warning, shouted an order, "Undress!" In the beginning I didn't understand what he meant. I looked around. There was no place to put my clothes, no place to sit down. I was standing

GLIKSMAN: in the middle of a room, with a greasy, muddy floor--dirty--
(CONT.)
everybody was spitting on it, and I began to undress. I kept my suit of clothes in my hand and waited. The officer became angry. "What are you waiting for? Undress completely and throw away what you have in your hands." I had no choice. With one kick of his feet, he threw it into a corner and began the search. He was searching, in all details, my body; made me bend over and raise my hands, all other kinds of exercises, to find out whether nothing was hidden. But not only the efficiency of the search, but the way he did it, the degrading words he used, the insulting remarks and jokes, was something that is difficult to forget.

When he was through with me, he pushed me to the wall and told me, "Don't turn back,"--pushed me nearer, closer to the wall, as I touched my nose to the wall, and then he began searching my clothes. Then, all of a sudden, he was in a hurry. He shouted, "He dressed!"

FAINSOD: Now, after this long examination was over, were you released?

GLIKSMAN: No. Then I was put into a prison cell; and then you can wait for a long, long time before one night something happens, and these are interrogations. I didn't have too many, but a score or so, and always at night; but other people were taken day and night, but mostly at night, for weeks and days on end. All of a sudden, one day they gave back my belongings and told me that I was free.

FAINSOD: What did you do then?

GLIKSMAN: I decided to try to reach Vilno. Vilno at the time belonged to Lithuania and it was free. My wife was at this time afraid to expose the baby to the cold. So we agreed that I will make the attempt alone and then try to arrange for her to get in a safer way to me. But I was caught on the demarcation line and put back to prison. I never saw them again. They were later both assassinated by the Germans.

FAINSOD: After you were arrested at the demarcation line, what happened then, Mr. Glikzman?

GLIKSMAN: Then began my real longer prison experience. I spent many months in the Oshmiana Prison, and later, a shorter time, in other prisons.

FAINSOD: Were you ever beaten during these interrogations?

GLIKSMAN: I personally was never beaten, but I witnessed many of my colleagues, inmates in the prison, coming back from night interrogations, bruised and beaten up badly.

FAINSOD: Mr. Glikzman, will you describe the conditions that you found when you were assigned to a cell?

GLIKSMAN: We were three of us brought into the cell No. 1, in Oshmiana; the prisoners were counting, seventy-seven, seventy-eight, seventy-nine. It meant that we were the seventy-seventh, seventy-eighth, seventy-ninth prisoners coming to the cell. And on the door I have seen an old Polish sign, because it was an old Polish prison, saying, "Cell No. 1, fifteen men."

FAINSOD: As you think back on that experience now, what stands out in your mind as the worst features of your confinement?

GLIKSMAN: This overcrowding--the most horrible that stands out in my memory was the suffocating, foul air we had to live in. When the summer began, even before, in spring, then we were already almost ninety people in the same cell, and the only two windows, we had in our room, were covered with planks, so no fresh air could come in. It became really a hell, and we all were breathing like as we would have asthma. This is the most horrible thing that people in Soviet prisons suffer. I spent in prisons about eight months.

FAINSOD: Then, what happened?

GLIKSMAN: Then, one day, I was called to the warden and I learned what will be my future. He gave me a slip of paper on which it said that the special council in Moscow, the so-called "Ossoboie Soviechanie," decided to imprison me for five years in a corrective labor camp for trying to cross illegally the border and as being socially dangerous element. I asked the warden, "Is it a concentration camp?" "No," he said, "Concentration camps exist only in capitalist countries, not in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has corrective labor camps." After a few days we were finally taken to a train taking us to the corrective labor camps. All the time we never knew where we are taken to. But it turned out later that--we were brought to a transfer camp called "Kotlas," which is a place to which, day by day, scores of trains bring prisoners from

-more-

GLIKSMAN: all over Russia. It is a place where the authorities decide (CONT.)

to which camp each of them is to be sent.

FAINSOD: What experiences do you recall most vividly during this train ride, Mr. Glikzman?

GLIKSMAN: We were crowded in a cattle car. We didn't undress, we didn't wash for all this three weeks on our way, we didn't get but twice any warm water or warm food. The most harrowing thing that we experienced on our way was the lack of water. A bucket of water or two, at most for a whole car, was the most we could get. And when the water was given to the car, the criminals first took the water to their place; and after they had as much as they could, they gave the remaining water to us, the politicals, the non-criminals--and so thirst was the most horrible thing. After this three weeks of traveling in the train, we were taken on foot to our camp; and this is a very large area covered by barracks. It is maybe the greatest camp area I have seen in all my wanderings over the Soviet camps, because, as I said, this is a transfer camp.

At first we were taken to a special zone surrounded by barbed wire fences. So for several weeks we were in our own zone, but occasionally the Russian criminals, the so-called "Urki," did manage to penetrate to our zone and stole whatever they could, as our belongings were very tempting for them. It turned out that our belongings were in fact the greatest asset we could have--shoes, shirts, clothing and all other even small of our things were so precious in camp that we could exchange it for food. One day we were taken, all, on a long, long walk, and

GLIKSMAN: thousands, tens of thousands of us were standing in rows all (CONT.) day long in the frost waiting. We didn't know for what purpose. And then several people, several NKVD officers, wardens of various camps, in fine furs, with warm "valenki"--it means felt boots--began walking amongst us, looking at our faces, trying to figure out our health, our muscles--to pick up the labor they needed. The problem was not to be cheated and not to get any sick or invalid prisoners that they would have to feed, even as little as they feed them. It was a kind of slave market.

FAINSOD: Where were you finally sent, Mr. Glikzman?

GLIKSMAN: I was sent to the Ukhtizhm camp. It is in the northeast European Russia, not far from the Arctic on the north and near the Urals on the east. This trip lasted only for ten days and ten nights; and we could this time look out from the windows and what we saw was a picture that remains forever in my memory. We could see only one sight, barbed wire and watch towers, barbed wire and watch towers, again and again, a real kingdom of slave labor camps.

FAINSOD: Now, finally, when you arrived at your destination, what happened to you?

GLIKSMAN: I was assigned to the woodcutters' brigade, and in the morning, at five o'clock, we had reveille, "padiom" in Russian. They come, pull us out from the barracks to go to roll call to the gate. It doesn't take us long to be ready because nobody undresses when he goes to sleep. So in one minute

GLIKSMAN: We are ready. Now we have to wash, but there is no water.
(CONT.)

You take a little snow if you are very fussy. Then you use your sleeve to dry yourself, ran to the kitchen for the morning "kasha," a kind of gruel, a few spoonfuls. Then you are ready. From a distance you hear music, a band playing to cheer us up. We are waiting, and then brigade after brigade we are conducted into the wood for work. It is still dark. We go under guards and their dogs.

FAINSOD: How long was your working day?

GLIKSMAN: According to regulations, our work day was two hours longer than the normal work day of a Soviet worker. Until the outbreak of the war, our work day was supposed to be ten hours. After the outbreak of the war, twelve hours a day, but in fact, they made us work sometimes an hour or sometimes longer in order to fulfill the assignment of the day. But if you add the hours we were walking to and from, the hours we were waiting for the morning roll call in the cold, in the snow, you could say that we were on our feet 15, 16 and sometimes 17 hours a day.

FAINSOD: Will you tell us how you were fed, Mr. Glikzman?

GLIKSMAN: Our food depended on our output. Each function had its quota, each smallest function of the camp was calculated in the daily quota that they called "norm" that had to be fulfilled, and if fulfilled, gives you a hundred per cent. But woe to these who couldn't fulfill it, and the quota was so high that the great majority of prisoners, with their best will could at best perform 50 or 60 per cent of the quota.

FAINSOD: Were there criminals in the camp?

GLIKSMAN: This is one of the worst features of our camp--the professional criminals. They are in a minority in the camp and they are the real bosses of the camp. They are privileged, they are considered the most reliable, most trustworthy by the administration. They occupy all posts that the administration gives to prisoners--almost all such posts are occupied by those hardened criminals. Even the administration was frightened a little of them and they used to take advantage of their privileged position, and many many sufferings are posed not by the administration--but the criminal prisoners with whom we had to live day and night together.

NARR: And now, Dr., may I ask one final question of Mr. Glikzman. Mr. Glikzman, how did you obtain your release from the camp?

GLIKSMAN: I got my release before my sentence was over. Russian political prisoners very seldom get released even if their sentence is up. The camp authorities have no right to release a prisoner even if his file shows that his sentence was up. And sometimes an order for the extension of the camp term would come for another five, eight, or ten years. The purpose of releasing the Polish prisoners was to organize a Polish army against the Germans, but this army did not fight on the Soviet front. And so we left for Persia, and then through Europe I came to the United States after the war.

NARRATOR: Thank you, Mr. Gliksmán, for your precise account of what it means to be a victim of a terror-system of political control. Through you, your millions of fellow sufferers have been able-- as the title of your own book says--to "Tell the West."

(MUSIC: INTERNATIONALE. FADE)

NARRATOR: Since the end of the War information concerning the activities of the MGB has not been plentiful. Mass deportations of the native populations from the Baltic States and other border areas of European Russia have been reported; the Soviet Press has also, during this period, carried on campaigns against collective farm abuses, and noted cases of corruption in the bureaucracy and in industry. It has also carried accounts of purges in the Party and among intellectuals. Although there have been no indications of mass arrests on the scale of the 1937 Yezhevshchina, the MGB continues to claim its victims, and forced labor has become an integral feature of the Soviet totalitarian system. At the beginning of this program some idea of the pervasive influence of the secret police on Soviet life was briefly sketched; Dr. Merle Fainsod of Harvard University, who will sum up for us the significance of the use of---Terror as a System of Power. And now---Dr. Fainsod.

FAINSOD: By the use of terror the dictator eliminates actual or suspected rivals. But terror achieves a more indirect goal: it paralyzes within the minds of members of the governing elite itself those thoughts of rivalry and independence which might lead eventually to concrete challenges to the dictator's absolute rule. The terror also acts as a broom; by sweeping out of office one group of individuals, it automatically sweeps in ambitious individuals from lower echelons.- There is circulation but no permanence - no possibility, that is, for the development of positions of power too strong for the dictator to destroy. But meanwhile, the removal of thousands of skilled individuals from the life of the country inevitably weakens it.

The manipulation of terror as a system of power is a delicate art. A dictator in command of modern armaments and a secret police can transform his subjects into robots and automatons, but if he succeeds too well he runs the risk of destroying the sources of creative initiative on which the survival of his own regime depends. This is a problem which the Soviet dictatorship cannot evade. Over the long run it may well turn out to be the rock on which the Soviet system will founder. Stalin has shown an awareness of the problem. He needs terror to safeguard his monopoly of power. But he also knows that he cannot depend on terror alone. His is a system of rule in which incentives and indoctrination also have their appointed place. There is room for the carrot as well as the stick,

FAINSOD: for the positive lure of privileges and rewards as well as
(CONT.) the negative threat of the forced labor camp.

A residue of insecurity remains which even the most skillful manipulation cannot eliminate. The dictator tries to build his security on the insecurity of his subjects. Because he faces the constant problem of liquidating all actual or potential competitors, his dependence on the secret police is absolute. The secret police follows its own laws of growth. It thrives on crisis and lives by emphasizing sinister threats at home and abroad. The atmosphere of universal suspicion which it breeds envelops the ruling group itself. The Dictator becomes the victim of the Frankenstein's monster which he has created. The ultimate hazard of terror as a system of power is that it ends by terrorizing the master as well as the slave.

ANNCR: You have just heard "TERROR AS A SYSTEM OF POWER," one in a series of full-hour programs--"People Under Communism"--based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about Russia's power and intentions. Materials for this broadcast were supplied by Dr. Merle Fainsod, Professor of Government at Harvard University and director of political studies at the Russian Research Center. This program was written by David Driscoll and produced by Frank Papp.

This series as a whole was prepared in consultation with scholars from the Russian Institute of Columbia University, the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University, and the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. These programs are produced and distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

ANNCR: PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM

(MUSIC: _ _ _ UP AND UNDER)

ANNCR: This is a transcribed series of full-hour programs based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union. This series is presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in consultation with scholars from the Russian Institute of Columbia University, the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University, and the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. The program you are about to hear, "Music to Order," is based on materials and counsel provided by Doctor Ernest J. Simmons, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University and Professor of Russian Literature in its Russian Institute.

(MUSIC: _ _ _ UP TO FINISH)

Doctor Ernest J. Simmons has been a student of Russian literature and culture for some twenty years and has made five trips to the Soviet Union for research purposes. Here is Doctor Simmons to introduce our program on "Music to Order."

SIMMONS:

I think we would all agree that music is an art form which would seem to lend itself least to political dictation. However, the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. in 1948 condemned "the formalist tendency in Soviet music as being anti-people." How can you compel music to reflect the ideology of the Soviet State? What is anti-people's music and what is pro-people's music? What happens to talented composers when they are compelled to write music to order? What is the nature of the machinery which the Communist Party uses to regiment music? These and other baffling questions on the state of music and musicians will be considered in this program. Examples of Soviet music which have been accepted and then officially condemned will be played and discussed, with the aid of the distinguished composers and musical critics, Mr. Deems Taylor, Mr. Henry Cowell, and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky.

(MUSIC: -- -- MURADELI'S "WILL OF STALIN": ESTABLISH, FADE BACK FOR:)

NARR:

We are listening to "The Will of Stalin Led Us" by the Soviet composer, Vano Muradeli. Another work by this composer, an opera entitled "THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP," was the match that fired a powder keg under the whole musical world of Russia in 1948. Not only was Muradeli caught in the explosion, but some of the greatest names in music today: Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Miaskovsky.

(PAUSE)

(MUSIC: -- -- MURADELI'S "WILL OF STALIN" UP: CONCLUDES)

*See pp 24 ff.
"Art to
Order"
same material*

NARR: It all started in 1947. On November 7th of that year the Soviet Union celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Revolution. Among other works especially written for the occasion was the opera "THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP" by a Georgian composer, Vano Muradeli. The "Big Four" of Russian music, however, contributed little or nothing for the event. Prokofiev, for example, was too busy to be bothered. He was completing his Sixth Symphony, which was to be played in Moscow on Christmas Day. It was played on Christmas Day...

(MUSIC: -- -- SIXTH SYMPHONY: ESTABLISH AND CHOP ABRUPTLY)

NARR: and was destined not to be heard again; it was denounced by the authorities as being "formalist." Khachaturian wrote a Symphonic Poem which was also branded as "formalist" music, but it was the Party's reaction to Muradeli's opera that really touched off the furore culminating in the Resolution issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party condemning the music of almost every top composer in Russia. Here is what is meant by the term "formalism" as used by the Soviet authorities.

AUTHORITY I: "Formalism is usually considered to denote a lack of ideas, a lack of content, a complete concentration on form with no reference to reality. But when we speak of 'formalism' today, we mean something entirely different. One cannot say that the works of Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Miaskovsky, Khachaturian and others are completely divorced from life and reality, or completely lacking in content. Nevertheless, these works have a

AUTHORITY I: (CONT) strong formalist traits. ... something in these works that prevents them from penetrating simply and directly into our consciousness.... When this happens, it may be due not only to laziness, but to a lack of boldness and courage. Hence the tendency to imitate Western Bourgeois art and contemporary modernism. In such cases the composer has not the strength to look our great future straight in the face. The composer must struggle against this tendency to distort, against this laziness, this lack of courage; and in this struggle he should be greatly helped by the stern, but friendly care shown him by the Party."

NARR: From this it would seem that "formalism" is about everything the Soviet leaders don't happen to like in music. This definition is reflected in the Central Committee's Resolution of 1948 on music. The Resolution begins with an attack on Muradeli's opera.

AUTHORITY II: "This opera is chaotic and inharmonious, full of continuous discords which hurt one's ears. Some allegedly melodious passages are suddenly broken off by noises unsuitable to normal human hearing. The Central Committee considers that the failure of Muradeli's opera is the result of his having followed the formalist road--a road that has been so pernicious to the works of Soviet composers.... "The state of affairs is particularly bad in the case of symphonic and operatic music. The Central Committee has here in mind those composers who persistently adhere to the formalist and anti-people school--a school

AUTHORITY II: (CONT) which has found its fullest expression in the works of composers like Comrades Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Shebalin, Popov, Liaskovsky and others. Their works are marked by formalist perversions, anti-democratic tendencies which are alien to the Soviet people and their artistic tastes. Their music savors of the present-day modernist bourgeois music of England and America."

VOICE: The Central Committee resolves:

"One: To condemn the formalist tendency in Soviet music as being anti-people and leading to the liquidation of music.

Two: To propose to the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and to the Government Art Committee that they take the necessary steps for improving the state of affairs in Soviet music, and liquidate the faults enumerated in the present resolution.

Three: To call upon Soviet composers to become more conscious of their duties to the Soviet people....and assure a great upsurge of activity which would lead to the creation of high-quality works worthy of the Soviet people."

(MUSIC: -- _OPENING OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S SEVENTH SYMPHONY: FADE BACK FOR:)

SIMMONS: This is Ernest Simmons again. What you have been listening to is the opening of Shostakovich's famous Seventh or Leningrad Symphony. It was first performed during the war, on March 1, 1942, in the temporary

SIMMONS: (CONT) Soviet capital of Kuibishev, and it was uniformly hailed then as his greatest work in the Soviet Union. In the United States symphony orchestras vied with one another for the privilege of first performing the composition here. Now let us hear a bit more of this work, for I want our musical experts who are present with us today in the studio to give us their reactions to this piece. There are here Mr. Deems Taylor, composer and well-known musical commentator; Mr. Henry Cowell, the well-known American composer; and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky, who is noted as an author of books and articles on music, and especially as an authority on Russian music.

(MUSIC: -- A PORTION OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S SEVENTH SYMPHONY BETWEEN NO. 55 AND NO. 60. FADE BACK FOR:)

SIMMONS: Now despite the praise of this symphony before the war, since the musical resolution of the Central Committee in 1948, these very passages you've heard, as well as much else of this Seventh Symphony, have been singled out by Soviet critics for their grotesque and dissonant qualities, for the formalistic trend of the music, and the absence of folk themes. On the basis of what you have just heard, do you think this criticism justifiable? Mr. Deems Taylor.

TAYLOR: No, I can't say that I do. I think Shostakovich does do a great deal of experimenting which I think is praiseworthy, and as far as the absence of Russian folk music is concerned it seems to me that the whole tendency of a criticism of this sort boils down to "let's go back to Tschaikovsky." Apparently anything that shows any signs of objective writing is objectionable.

SIMMONS: This is Mr. Cowell.

COWELL: Yes, but don't you think that after all music grows through experiment and that people appreciate the growth?

TAYLOR: Oh, very definitely yes, but they are slow to appreciate it.

SIMMONS: Would you agree with that, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Well, I both agree and disagree. First of all I want to point out that even at the time of the first performance of the Seventh Symphony there was some criticism of its musical treatment in the Soviet Union, primarily because Shostakovich seems to have been more successful with the musical characteristics of the Nazi theme rather than the Russian theme. Several musical critics, not unanimous, but some musical critics of the Soviet Union asked this question: "How come that Shostakovich is so much more successful in representing the enemy, true in a grotesque form, and failed to represent the grandeur of the Russian people?" This was one of the early criticisms of the Seventh Symphony of Shostakovich in the Soviet Union.

SIMMONS: (CONT) everyone seemed to be right, until the Party, on second thought, said they were wrong in a matter of musical taste. So, let us see how Shostakovich reformed himself and began to compose in a musical language which he now believes is comprehensible to the people--and the Party. Now, the first movement of his "Song of the Forests," an oratorio which won a Stalin prize in 1949 for Shostakovich, only one year after this disgrace.

(MUSIC: -- FIRST MOVEMENT OF SHOSTAKOVICH'S "SONG OF THE FORESTS":
FADE BACK FOR:)

SIMMONS: Now, gentlemen, you have, so to speak, in these selections from the Seventh Symphony of Shostakovich and the "Song of the Forests" the "before" and "after" of his musical history. I wonder, Mr. Cowell, whether you think, judging on the basis of this "Song of the Forests," that Western influences have been eliminated. In what way does this piece employ traditional Russian themes?

COWELL: I don't know very much about traditional Russian themes but I think it is very Western in style, and that if I were going to do any denouncing I should say that I accuse the little formula of making third relation modulations and that there are other evidences that there are still wicked Western influences present in the music.

SIMMONS: Mr. Slonimsky.

SLONIMSKY: I should say that this contains elements of modern music in general--modern Russian music stemming from Moussorgksy--it is not necessarily Western music or

SLONIMSKY: (CONT) Western influences. My contention is that no composer can absolutely renounce the entire heritage of modern music. As a matter of fact what we heard is the beginning of the "Song of the Forests"--now the subsequent movements get a little more complicated and Shostakovich was criticized for sticking to his old bad habits.

SIMONS: But don't you think, Mr. Slonimsky, that this does violence to the progressive musical idiom of Shostakovich?

SLONIMSKY: I definitely do. It certainly does violence to his musical integrity. As a matter of fact it is very characteristic, very interesting, that several musicians, after the first hearing of the "Song of the Forests" said that Shostakovich had betrayed himself, had deliberately paid lip service to the accepted new ideas in Soviet music.

SIMONS: Yes, but if he had to continue to write in this vein, what would you prophesy as to its musical future? What would you think about that, Mr. Taylor?

TAYLOR: I should say that his musical future is all in the past. He stopped being Shostakovich and he has gone back to Raff or early Brahms. It is perfectly harmless music. They speak of appealing direct to the hearts of the Russian people. Well, any Russian who didn't understand that at first hearing must be tone-deaf.

SIMONS: Mr. Slonimsky.

SLONIMSKY: Yes. I should like to introduce one little observation, that after composing the "Song of the Forests" Shostakovich turned about and wrote 24 preludes and

SLONIMSKY: (CONT) fugues for piano for which he was roundly spanked in an official Soviet publication. It was said that Shostakovich really never reformed, because he returned to his somber, pessimistic moods and his polyphonic atonality and various other sins; so it is very interesting to observe that Shostakovich seems to be a dual personality--that he does retain some of his modernistic traditions almost alongside with this kind of thing. My opinion of the "Song of the Forests" is that it is a mass song akin to many works of Shostakovich that he wrote before.

SIMONS: It is perfectly clear that in a real sense Shostakovich has gone back on the idiom that he has been practicing for years in his principal symphonies and in many of his other lesser works.

SLONIMSKY: There is no doubt about it whatsoever. He had definitely gone back on himself.

SIMMONS: Mr. Cowell.

COWELL: One has to notice that in spite of the fact that what you say is true about his having gone back on himself, there is still some of these secret peepings of Western musical influence still to be observed in this. I think that in the tunes of this song, in which he observes what certainly appears to be enforced simplicity, that these tunes are in themselves not Shostakovich but that you can find the same tunes in the work of almost any other composer both from earlier Russian composers and from other Western composers of a former age; and that therefore this is not, so to

COWELL: (CONT) speak, part of Shostakovich's composition at all, and the only places where he utilizes his prerogatives as a composer to do anything about these tunes known to everybody is to use them in changes of key which are in themselves characteristic of Wagner and other Western composers.

SIMMONS: Well, it would almost seem, Mr. Cowell, then, that these efforts of the Soviet musical officials are pretty hopeless; that Western influences, like murder, will out. But let us remember that other famous composers seem to have successfully recanted their formalistic Western sins and won Stalin prizes since the purification drive of 1948; for example, Khachaturian and Prokofiev. Do you happen to know, Mr. Slonimsky, whether Khachaturian's brilliant and original musical idiom has been sacrificed to mass intelligibility in his latest pieces?

SLONIMSKY: Yes. Khachaturian as well as Shostakovich, and to a lesser extent other composers, have undoubtedly sacrificed their musical integrity in trying to adapt themselves to the so-called people's idiom.

SIMMONS: Mr. Taylor.

TAYLOR: It seems to me that in one respect the Soviet musical authorities are certainly hopelessly not Western--I mean that we will never get together, I don't think, in our standards because they have gone a step beyond Tsarist Russia. Now in the days of the tsars, musicians' products were judged by the political aspects of words that he happened to set to music.

TAYLOR: (CONT) Now we have the spectacle of music being judged by political standards, which to me is completely bewildering and I don't see how any fair appraisal of this is possible.

SIMONS: Mr. Slonimsky.

SLONIMSKY: Well, I would like to appear in rebuttal to what Mr. Taylor had to say about tsarist music being devoted to a political purpose. As a matter of fact the tsars were very much disinterested in musical progress. It is the Soviets that sort of stepped in and tried to discipline and to regulate the development of music.

SIMONS: But would you agree, coming back to Khachaturian, Mr. Slonimsky, that his recantation at the time of the resolution of the Central Committee was an abject performance from the point of view of a creative artist? The history of recantations in Soviet art would almost fill a volume by now. But those in music are particularly pitiful. I wonder whether you felt that at the famous meeting that was chaired by the late Andrei Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo, the meeting of Soviet composers in which nearly everyone of prominence was given an opportunity to recant--I wonder if you don't feel that that was probably one of the greatest debacles in the whole history of Soviet music.

SLONIMSKY: Well, I certainly feel that it was one of the greatest spectacles of human degradation and I should like to quote one of the most extraordinary recantations in the

SLONIMSKY: (CONT) form of a letter addressed by Khachaturian to the editor of a magazine that had published criticism in praise of a symphonic poem by Khachaturian. Well, it seems that the critic did not time his praise of Khachaturian's poem, and while the criticism was being published the poem was generally denounced by the Central Committee. So Khachaturian wrote a letter to the editor saying that the critic didn't know what he was talking about, that he hadn't even seen or heard the score, that he, Khachaturian, had not deserved this praise, that his work was very poor, unworthy, and a deviation from the straight line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This is certainly a unique document when a composer raises his voice in public in order to denounce a critic who lavished praise on him.

SIMMONS: There does not seem to be much more to be said about Khachaturian's recantation, but I suppose by all odds Prokofiev has been one of the most individualistic of Soviet composers and one wonders, Mr. Cowell, whether his particular genius, unlike the disciplined Communist genius of Shostakovich, can continue to function with anything like maximum effectiveness under such rigorous controls.

COWELL: I don't think so, because the rigid control sets up certain particular standards, such as the avoidance of dissonance, as being something that wouldn't be suitable for people to listen to, and it seems to me that the natural style of Shostakovich is a style that demands

COWELL: (CONT) free handling of dissonance and possibly that if left to his own devices without the support of the Central Party and their firm ruling on this subject, that he might even have dabbled in atonality, who knows; but obviously he can't hope to retain his position as a professional composer and still do that under the present circumstances in Russia.

SIMMONS: Of course I myself, incidentally, haven't heard any of the post-1948 music of Prokofiev so I am not in a position to say whether or not he has changed in his medium in the face of the Resolution of the Central Committee. Have you by any chance, Mr. Slonimsky, heard any of it?

SLONIMSKY: Oh, yes, I have heard it. In fact I have the music of some of his post-1948 compositions. Now what strikes me in the whole Prokofiev business was that he was the only one who did not recant completely. I will play for you a few tunes from his work, "Guarding the Peace," the work that was written in 1950 and generally praised, and you will find that it is definitely not according to Hoyle, that is, not according to Soviet Hoyle.

(MUSIC: _ _ _ PIANO: "GUARDING THE PEACE")

SLONIMSKY: Soviet critics said that this is not exactly a singable melody, and this was written for a children's chorus, which means that Prokofiev just can't help himself; he wanted, and at least he said that he wanted, to write melodically, but this is not melody in the Pickwickian sense, I mean in the Soviet sense.

SIMMONS: Well, it seems clear that the campaign on anti-Westernism in Soviet music since 1948 is simply a part of the vaster Soviet drive against all so-called Western influences in its total postwar international policy. In the field of music does this anti-Westernism today have any basis in earlier Soviet policy, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Yes, definitely. You see this anti-Western agitation in the Soviet Union was purely a product of the rising nationalism in the Soviet Union. You see they accepted all of their old composers. Again may I tell you very briefly the story of Tschaikovsky's acceptance. You see, in the early days of the Revolution Tschaikovsky was regarded as a pessimistic composer not suitable for consumption by the proletarian masses. In fact the first Minister of Education, Lunacharsky, developed a very ingenious theory. He explained the success of the Pathetique Symphony of Tschaikovsky among the Soviet masses by the fact that Tschaikovsky had written in it a wonderful requiem service to his class of nobility, and therefore the proletariat, listening, loved wonderful funeral of the enemy class, obviously enjoyed the symphony.

SIMMONS: Mr. Cowell.

COWELL: I was wondering if perhaps we couldn't speak about a change of policy there, because at one time Mr. Schneerson, who had a great deal to do with music representative of the official point of view, seems to have changed his mind about a number of Westerners. There was a time, for instance, when my own music was

COWELL: (CONT) praised by him and when I was referred to as being among the more promising composers in this country, which at this time was not meant as a harsh criticism. Then later on it would appear that I devote myself entirely to making money with the aid of Wall Street, and that for my extremism and formalism and pure discord and absolute clowning at the piano and for the waving of my non-existent black marcelled locks that I get paid huge sums of money from Wall Street, which of course means that I am no longer a promising composer.

SIMMONS: All of which reminds me, Mr. Taylor, that the Soviets of course in their recent pronouncements on music have been naturally rather partial to their own compositions. As a matter of fact I have heard it said that over the last thirty-five years the Soviets have produced perhaps the finest volume of music, finer than that of any other country in Western Europe or America. Would you care to comment on that kind of generalization?

TAYLOR: That leaves me a little bewildered. I can't believe that Soviet Russia in the last thirty-five years has turned out more fine music than any other country. I don't know that I have any huge volume of facts to back me up but in my opinion that is not so.

SIMMONS: Well, if you were asked for example to indicate the most popular composers--let us leave American composers for the moment out of it--from Russia or Western Europe that are now played on our radio, let us say daily, which names would occur to you as the most popular?

TAYLOR: Well, I am afraid you have me there. I would say Khachaturian, some of Shostakovich and certainly a good deal of Prokofiev's music. I think Prokofiev saves his figurative neck by the fact that his natural idiom is much less drastic than that of Shostakovich. It is rather square-toned and diatonic in comparison with Shostakovich. On the other hand there is one very great composer who is a Russian but I don't know whether he is accepted by the Soviet Union or not-- that is, Mr. Stravinsky.

SIMMONS: Mr. Slonimsky.

SLONIMSKY: Well, Mr. Taylor, Stravinsky is certainly not accepted in Russia as a representative of Russian music. He is usually referred to as that arch reactionary, hypocrite in hermit's clothes, that sanctimonious, perverse individual who has renounced his native heritage and first became a Frenchman and then drifted to that country of bestial capitalism, the United States, and then of course Wall Street again comes into play here; and now with Stravinsky I can state definitely that every work beginning with Petrushka is out, that Stravinsky is accused of betraying the teaching he received from Rimsky-Korsakov. So this Stravinsky is regarded as the arch enemy musically of Russian music, but it is always underlined that he had talent and even genius up to 1909.

SIMMONS: Mr. Taylor, it appears that the Soviet musical officials feel that music should have a mass appeal. I wonder whether you feel that if music has to cater to what you might call a mass intelligibility, does that seriously interfere with the composer's art?

TAYLOR: I think it very seriously and very emphatically does interfere because what it boils down to is that he must write music--only such music as will have immediate acceptance by a musically illiterate audience. Well, that's true enough that music can be good and still have immediate acceptance, but it doesn't necessarily mean that that's the only kind of music that's good or that it will eventually be accepted. I think that the Soviets leave no margin for any growth in appreciation of music. If everything must be a tune rather than a theme, music will remain static. It allows no room for experimentation either in content or in form.

COWELL: I am wondering very much whether people really like music all alike all the time. Don't you think that the person who decides what people like usually think they only like one thing, whereas people really like a very wide variety of things? I wonder then what is music which is of the people, and what is music which could possibly be opposed to the people.

SIMMONS: Well, isn't it clear that certainly the Soviets would not regard a Schoenberg as music for the people?

COWELL: Well, they probably wouldn't and yet Schoenberg is a person, and there are a great deal of people who have a great deal of interest and appreciation of Schoenberg. Are there no such people in Russia?

TAYLOR: Mr. Slonimsky, what do you think?

SLONIMSKY: Well, I am fortunately in the possession of facts so I don't have to think. I should say that Schoenberg of course is regarded as a reactionary. You see, all our ideas about reaction and progressiveness are fairly well reversed in the Soviet Union. There have been articles--one article after another--about Shostakovich as an arch reactionary, a man who contributes to the destruction of music rather than the creation of new elements for a new music.

SIMMONS: Well, aren't the Soviets leaving out one obvious factor in the total development of music over the ages, Mr. Slonimsky? Isn't it true, and I presume it is true, that at any given moment in the development of a composer's art over the centuries, his music when initially (if he were a great composer) when initially played, has always represented a certain degree of unintelligibility to the mass audience?

SLONIMSKY: Yes, you could not put it in a better way. As a matter of fact it is now my immediate occupation to publish a lexicon of musical invective which I have compiled and which cites criticisms, and very harsh criticisms, beginning with Beethoven. Every great composer was regarded as a destroyer of established values.

SIMMONS: Well, I must say that as I listen to a great deal of Soviet music I am frankly mystified as to what they consider anti-people and music that is intellible to the masses of the people. Maybe you can shed some light on this, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Perhaps I can. I will simply play for you some pieces based on natural folk song melodies which the Soviets regard as democratic music, that is as pro-people music, and then melodies that are more artificial, that is, modern melodies which the Soviets regard as anti-people. Now I will illustrate the one kind, the pre-1948 kind and the post-1948 kind. (PAUSE) Now here is a melody from Shostakovich's Cello Sonata which was written in 1934 and which was regarded as following the popular idiom, that is, the idiom understandable to the masses.

(MUSIC: _ _ _PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: On the other hand a prelude by Shostakovich written at about the same time abounds in all kinds of strange melodic turns. Now this kind of composition was regarded as anti-democratic, anti-people.

(MUSIC: _ _ _PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: Now here is an example from Prokofiev, the famous Peter and the Wolf march.

(MUSIC: _ _ _PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: Now this of course has a straight melody so it was accepted by the masses. On the other hand, in a piece that Prokofiev wrote after 1948, that is when he was not sufficiently reformed despite the resolution of the Communist Party in favor of the so-called Soviet melody, he wrote a children's chorus in his cantata, "On Guard for Peace," which incidentally received the Stalin prize, and there its melody was much more complicated and therefore criticized.

(MUSIC: _ _ _PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: The finale of this cantata "On Guard for Peace," by Prokofiev is much more straightforward. It is confined to a definite tonality; it is more in the Russian folksong tradition and therefore it was approved.

(MUSIC: _ _ PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: Now sometimes Prokofiev wrote tunes that are very definite in its rhythm but are somewhat uncertain in its tonality. In this case he was half praised, half damned.

(MUSIC: _ _ PIANO)

SLONIMSKY: This is a theme from his march "March for Band" written about 1940.

TAYLOR: You know, it seems to me that this "mother-knows-best" attitude of the Central Committee conveys the most utter contempt for the musical intelligence of the masses. These men, who tell a composer what to write, pretend to be of the masses. What they mean is - "I am the masses and I don't like that piece. So I am going to call it anti-people." After all if Beethoven and Bach and Brahms and Schumann and Mozart survived, the people who have kept them alive have not been any Central Committee nor any kind of music credit. It is because of the so-called masses that those composers live today-- because people want to hear them.

CO' ELL: Isn't it also true, Mr. Taylor, that the masses of people have been increasingly delighted by the very music which has at first received a great deal of criticism for the very element of modernity and dissonance, don't you believe?

TAYLOR: Definitely. Take a simple work like the "Afternoon of a Faun," which was hissed in 1892, and now it is almost childishly simple.

COVELL: Yes. Well, that is of the music of the people, isn't it?

SIMONS: Doesn't all this amount to saying that art after all must be either static or retrogressive? Now no literary artist today would think, if he were writing anything of the nature of epic poetry today, that he would necessarily have to go back to the epic poetry of Homer or Virgil. Does it not amount to the impoverishment of the development of music to institute a system of controls which demands that the composer take his models from the past?

COVELL: This seems to me not only very obvious but also something that we are able to find perhaps in this country, because here perhaps we will have a commission for a piece of music and we strive to please the person who gives us the commission. But if in general we have final disagreement then we are free to try to obtain a commission from some other person. Perhaps the situation could be resolved into saying we don't like to see a centralized control from which there is no escape.

SIMONS: You bring up actually the whole question of how these controls operate in the Soviet Union, and I have often wondered exactly how a composer in the light of a centralized control of this sort gets his work into publication and also into playing before the public.

SIMMONS: (CONT) Perhaps, Mr. Slonimsky, you could give us some notions of just how this is done.

SLONIMSKY: Well, this is done through the Union of Soviet Composers. Now of course this Union of Soviet Composers contains cliques like any union any place and there are also changing traditions. Sometimes they guess wrong. Now for instance, they were roundly belabored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party for guessing wrong before 1948, when they actually recommended some compositions that were later on condemned for Stalin prizes; so the thing is done through this entirely professional organization and they are trying to guess what the so-called masses want, or as Mr. Taylor correctly put it, what the Central Committee of the Soviet Union wants as being representative of the masses.

SIMMONS: What about the composer who doesn't conform, Mr. Slonimsky? What actually happens to him?

SLONIMSKY: Composers who don't conform don't exist, because in order to exist, that is physically exist, otherwise, one has to conform. To try to write a piece in the Soviet Union in the twelve-tone system of Schoenberg one would have to do it in his own attic and never show it to anybody because it would be a hopeless undertaking; he would only put himself on the black list.

TAYLOR: He could get a nice job in a coal mine, couldn't he?

SLONIMSKY: No, I doubt even that. I think that he would just quietly starve, and the chances are that he would certainly not write such a piece, and if he would write such a piece as absolutely non-conformist, he would not show it to anybody.

TAYLOR: I have read somewhere that that Union of Composers undertakes to tell a given composer in what form his next composition will be. They'll say, "Well, you've written four string quartets, now you've got to lay off string quartets and write an overture."

SLONIMSKY: I think this is a slight exaggeration. They urge composers to write melodically, whatever this word may mean, and the Central Committee urges the Union of Soviet Composers, and the Union of Soviet Composers urge themselves, because they are the composers, to write choral pieces--to write for voice rather than to write for the instruments.

SIMMONS: Is there a disposition on the whole to denounce instrumental or symphonic music as against vocalic music, operas?

SLONIMSKY: Yes, absolutely. There is no definite denunciation but there is criticism of Soviet composers, particularly of composers like Prokofiev and Miaskovsky, to some extent Shostakovich, that they fail to write vocal music, which is supposed to be the natural form of self-expression in music.

TAYLOR: And is also the most restricted.

SLONIMSKY: Very true, so here we have a struggle there, but I don't believe it would be accurate to say that the Union of Soviet Composers actually prescribes the form of composition; otherwise Prokofiev would not have written eight sonatas, Miaskovsky wouldn't have written twenty-seven symphonies, etc., etc.

SIMMONS: Let's get back to this question of melodiousness, something of which was brought out in our passage from the "Song of the Forests" of Shostakovich. Now I would like to submit to all of you musicians here whether or not that piece would not appeal to the average American public, more so let us say, than some of the more difficult pieces--Shostakovich's symphonies or for that matter some of the works of Prokofiev even before the 1948 decree. What would you think of that, Mr. Taylor?

TAYLOR: Oh, I think that you are quite right, that that piece would have a more immediate acceptance than something written in a more complicated or sophisticated form. Of course what they call melodious we would call tuneful, and they want tunes at any cost, but I think they overlook one thing--and that is, that what the average man will stand for does not mean that he might not like something a lot better if he had a chance to hear it. And under this system there is very little possibility of his being allowed to hear any music that is at all debatable and, as you said before, an art must progress and retrogress, and I think carried to its logical conclusion there could be no such thing as a symphony, because a symphony is based not on tunes but on themes and could be entirely unintelligible to a person whose musical mentality never went beyond that particular Shostakovich piece.

SIMMONS: In a recent issue of a Soviet magazine, Sovietskoye Iskusstvo, there has been a demand for what they call variety music and they make a distinction, I sometimes think a rather specious distinction, between their conception of variety music and our conception of jazz. Actually I have been under the impression that there has been a real fondness for jazz in the Soviet Union, and one of the more difficult tasks the musical leaders have today is to agitate against American jazz. I wonder if you feel that this matter of variety music is again a concession to jazz music in America, Mr. Slonimsky?

SLONIMSKY: Undoubtedly it is a concession to popular music. I would modify this statement so as to say it is a concession to the American type of sentimental ballad. However, there was some jazz in Russia years ago. What kind of jazz it is you can hear from this little quotation from a song, supposedly a jazz song called "A Song about Love," by Dunayevsky, who is a holder of the order of Lenin and Stalin prizes, and so forth. I will play it for you.

(MUSIC: --- PIANO: SELECTION FROM DUNAYEVSKY)

TAYLOR: That went out about 1898 here.

SLONIMSKY: Yes, well, that is what I mean. So this was Soviet jazz about 1935, but even this form of Soviet jazz went out of existence.

COVELL: It seems to me that only by the severest efforts have the Russians prevented American jazz from becoming popular among their own people. They have actually

COWELL: (CONT) done the opposite of what they claim to do by preventing the people from making a selection of the thing that would be popular with them, if the acceptance of jazz music elsewhere in the world is any criterion.

SLONIMSKY: What goes for popular music now in the Soviet Union is the sentimental ballad. Well, here is a sample of a popular sentimental ballad of 1949.

(MUSIC: _ _ _ PIANO: USE RECORDING WITHOUT SINGING)

TAYLOR: It sounds like bad Stephen Foster.

SIMMONS: Of course, some Soviet music also becomes "popular music" in the United States. We can conclude our discussion of Soviet music with a few bars from a song which none of our listeners will fail to recognize--Khachaturian's "Sabre Dance."

(MUSIC: _ _ _ FEW BARS OF "SABRE DANCE")

SIMMONS: No one would deny that talented Soviet composers have created music that has won widespread acceptance wherever music is appreciated. But most of these pieces were composed in the early and middle periods of the Soviet regime, when the Communist Party was less disposed to interfere in the arts. It is the sense of this discussion you have just heard, however, that of late, and particularly since the 1948 resolution of the Central Committee on music, that Soviet composers are being compelled, in the name of the people, to bow to rigid Party controls on the form and thematic content of the music they write. But it is the all-powerful Party, and not the people, which

SIMMONS: (CONT) determines what is anti-peoples music and what is pro-peoples music. The discussion has further brought out how destructive these controls have become, how they force the free, soaring spirit of original genius into the mediocrity of conformity. The creative mind cannot be restricted to set forms and themes, or to a pattern of ideas, beliefs, and loyalties prescribed by a political party. Under such compulsions art withers and dies. And so will the greatness of Soviet music wither and die under the sweeping controls of the Communist Party.

ANNCR:

You have just heard "Music to Order," one in a transcribed series of full-hour programs--"People Under Communism"--based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union.

Materials for this broadcast were supplied by Dr. Ernest J. Simmons, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University. This series as a whole was prepared in consultation with scholars from the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University, and the Russian Institute of Columbia University. Guests on this program were Mr. Deems Taylor, composer and well-known musical commentator, Mr. Henry Cowell, well-known American composer, and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky, noted authority on Russian music.

This program was produced and directed by Frank Papp. These programs are prepared and distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MIDDLE BREAK

Revised

(MUSIC: _ _ _UP TO FINISH)

ANNCR: Our program continues following a ten-second pause for station identification.

(PAUSE) _ _ _10 SECONDS)

(MUSIC: _ _ _SNEAK UP AND FADE)

ANNCR: You are listening to "People Under Communism" . . . a transcribed series of full-hour programs based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union. Materials for this program have been supplied by Dr. Ernest J. Simmons, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University and Professor of Russian Literature in its Russian Institute. And associated with him here are the musical experts Mr. Deems Taylor, Mr. Henry Cowell and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky. We continue now with "Music to Order."

(MUSIC: _ _ _UP TO FINISH)

ANNOUNCER: PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM

(MUSIC: _ _ _ UP AND UNDER)

ANNOUNCER: This is a series of full-hour programs based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union. This series is presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in consultation with scholars from the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, the Russian Institute of Columbia University, and the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University. And now, "The Men Who Make the Migs"....

SOUND: SNEAK IN JET PLANE...UP FULL...FADE OUT.

ANNOUNCER: ..a documentary on Soviet Factory Life, based on materials and advice provided by Dr. Alex Inkeles, Lecturer in Social Relations at Harvard and author of "Public Opinion in Soviet Russia." Dr. Inkeles is Research Director of a project in which almost 500 former Soviet citizens were interviewed in the Western Zone of Germany in the Fall and Winter of 1950-51. In addition, over 2,000 former Soviet citizens filled out questionnaires about their experiences in the Soviet Union. Dr. Inkeles.

INKELES:

The performance of Soviet MIG jets in the skies over Korea is tangible evidence of the industrial capabilities of the U.S.S.R., and the foundation of those capabilities is the Soviet factory. The Soviet factory is a major key to understanding the weaknesses and strengths of Communist Russia.

We would like to take you inside one of those factories for a night and a day--to expose its inner workings to your view--as it was exposed to our view by former Soviet directors, engineers, and workers who escaped to the West. In developing this documentary we have drawn on the experiences--in many cases the very words--of former Soviet citizens as they told American interviewers the story of their lives in Soviet factories.

SOUND: BUZZER...CLICK

SECRETARY: (FILTER) Telephone call from the Ministry, Comrade Director.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ DRAMATIC SURGE...TRAILING UNDER AND OUT. (CUT 1)

DIRECTOR: (ARGUMENTATIVELY) Yes, yes, Comrade Minister, I know this is the last month and the factory's behind in the plan. But how do you think I got behind in production? By sucking my thumb? NO! I was handed an extra assignment. I manufacture valves and you made me add pipe fittings. Wha-? (FAUSE) No, no, I'm not offering excuses. Just facts! Don't you know what you did to me? Threw production out of whack for three months. That's why-- (BRIEF PAUSE) (IMPLORINGLY) Comrade Minister, listen, I'm trying...trying to meet the plan. Especially the valves for the MIGS, but-- (PAUSE) (ANNOYEDLY) All right, all right! I won't just try. I'll do it! Goodbye, Comrade Minister.

SOUND: CLICK OF RECEIVER

DIRECTOR: (MUMBLING NERVOUSLY TO SELF) No excuses, no excuses. Bunch of bureaucrats sitting behind desks in Moscow. Don't know the first thing about factory problems.

SOUND: (BUZZER..CLICK)

DIRECTOR: Yes?

SECRETARY: (FILTER) Comrade Party Secretary to see you.

DIRECTOR: Show him in, Nonna.

SECRETARY: Yes, Comrade Director.

DIRECTOR: And locate our Chief Engineer. Tell him to come at once.

SOUND: CLICK

DIRECTOR: (TO SELF) An unexpected visit from Partov. I wonder if this sly one knows about the ministry call.

SOUND: DOOR OPENING....CLOSING

DIRECTOR: (ALoud) Ah, good evening, Comrade Party Secretary, I was not expecting you but of course I will always find time to see you.

PARTOV: I was a bit early for the factory meeting and the thought came to me, how is my good friend Comrade Director. You look troubled, Comrade.

DIRECTOR: Just tired. Too many nights in the factory. Olga Fyodorovna says she is a factory widow.

PARTOV: (HALF LAUGH) To be tired is one look....to be troubled another. When I walked in here I said to myself - Sergei Sergeyevich, something....something is bothering Dimitri Ivanovitch. And then a thought came to me.... perhaps it was the phone call.

DIRECTOR: Phone call?

PARTOV: When I first asked to see you, your secretary told me you were tied up with an important phone call. Bad news, Comrade?

DIRECTOR: She was mistaken. It was only a call from our supply trouble-shooter.

PARTOV: You know, as I sat outside, I played a little game with myself. I kept guessing--who this important phone call was from. Regional Party Headquarters? Perhaps. A spokesman from the central committee? Not likely. The secret police? Or perhaps just the Ministry.

DIRECTOR: You were mistaken.

PARTOV: So it seems. (CHANGEDLY) Well, while I'm here I'll give you the latest results on socialist competition among the shops. Allow me to say that while the results have not been all we hoped for, yet considering the fact that the workers are tired and that socialist competition is not too successful in a period of frantic all-out effort that verges on storming--

DIRECTOR: (INTERRUPTING) We are not storming.

PARTOV: I share your dislike and the party's for the word, but the facts are we are running men and machines night and day.

DIRECTOR: (FIRMLY) We are engaged in a coordinated effort to meet the plan. Now what about the production races between the shops?

PARTOV: It's going well especially in shops 3, 8, and 12 but but production is only up about 10%.

DIRECTOR: Not enough. Remember, this is the last month and we're behind in production.

PARTOV: It could be improved if say....if Comrade Director was to....double....yes, double the prize for the winning shop.

DIRECTOR: Baah! What kind of talk is this? Were the blast furnaces of Magnitogorsk built with 10 per cents and prizes!?

PARTOV: (SLYLY) Something is troubling you after all. Such emotion.

DIRECTOR: (CALMING DOWN) All right. Double the prize.

FARTOV: That's better. Well, I must go now. I want to give a few instructions to some of the Communist Youth League boys before the meeting tonight. (FADING OFF)
I trust I'll be seeing you shortly.

DIRECTOR: Yes, I'll be at the meeting.

SOUND: DOOR OPENING....OFF MIKE....

FARTOV: (OFF MIKE) Oh, Dimitri Ivanovich, I had lunch with the Regional Party Secretary. He was asking about the factory. I, of course, pointed out that only the director knows the true state of the factory but that it was my impression that you had the situation in hand. (LIGHT LAUGH) That was the right answer, wasn't it?

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ BRIDGE: SHARP PLUCKING SOUND TRAILING OFF AS... (CUT 2)

CHIEF: (FADE IN - LIGHT LAUGHTER) Come, come, Dimitri Ivanovich, is this why you sent me such an urgent message - "Chief engineer, come to the director's office at once." I thought it was something really serious like a shift from making valves to women's dresses. (LAUGHS)

DIRECTOR: Be serious, Andrei Illyich. A call from the Ministry is nothing to joke about.

CHIEF: You worry too much. Of course, we'll have to get out the valves for the MIGS. And on the non-military, the worst that could happen is that we fall a few per cent behind the plan. So we don't get our bonuses. That I don't like; still we have not done badly these past two years. Always had a little fat set aside for emergencies too, eh? (QUICK SLY LAUGH)

CHIEF: (CONT) We have a good plant, a good director...workers.
(JOKINGLY) And in me you have the best of chief engineers, no? So what have we to worry about?

DIRECTOR: The party secretary, that's who we have to worry about.
He was just in.

CHIEF: (DISGUSTEDLY) Oh, him.

DIRECTOR: He knows about the Ministry call.

CHIEF: Did he say?

DIRECTOR: No, he's too smart. Doesn't want to involve himself.
But he got the word from his friend at the Regional Party headquarters.

CHIEF: Well, friend or no friend, the party secretary is hitched to the factory. If we make a bad showing, it'll reflect on him.

DIRECTOR: You know, sometimes I sit here and wonder. Here I am a long time party member and still they got that party secretary sitting here in the factory watching every move I make. I don't know, I suppose it's because I'm an engineer.

CHIEF: Let others play with politics. With us it's the machines, Dimitri Ivanovich. Just give us a machine and we'll build and create.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SNEAK UNDER FOLLOWING: (CUT 3)

DIRECTOR: There is a morning....a morning I shall never forget when I deal with party secretaries. It was in 1937. I was young, fresh out of the institute working as an engineer in a Machine Building plant in Leningrad. I came into work one morning and asked, "Where is the Chief Engineer?" I am told that he has not come yet

DIRECTOR: (CONT) and maybe he went somewhere. This is strange, I thought. Usually he should be there at that time. Then I go to a secretary and she whispers to me, "They took him away at night." I ask then the Director, "Where is he?" He says, "I don't know what to do. I don't know what is going on. You cannot trust anyone." At first, I thought if the secret police took him away there was something there, but I know his work like the palm of my hand and I began to think: Would he be a wrecker--a saboteur?

MUSIC: _ _ _ OUT

DIRECTOR: Later, I learned it was the party secretary who denounced him. He got ten years in a Siberian labor camp.

CHIEF: Oh, that was the purge. The heads of engineers were rolling all over the Soviet Union. These days it's different. The Party knows better how much it can count on its technical people.

DIRECTOR: Still the party secretary is not to be taken lightly. Nor is plan fulfillment. A short time after the arrest of my chief in '37, I was appointed Chief Engineer. (BEGINS TO RELIVE EXPERIENCE) Oh, I was young..naive. And filled with such enthusiasm! (EXCITEDLY) I was determined to succeed. And I worked. Oh, how I worked..14, 16, 18 hours a day! Sometimes even sleeping in the factory. You know how the plan squeezes you, how it cuts every corner?

CHIEF: The plan never gave any man a break.

DIRECTOR: Well, I had only half..half the men and machines called for in the plan. And yet I fulfilled 70-80 and sometimes 100%. Do you think those guys in Moscow were satisfied? No! They kept bothering me every minute with constant demands, calls, accounts, commissions. Commissions? So many investigating commissions! In two months of the summer of 1938 I had 15 commissions!

CHIEF: (PRETENDING DISBELIEF) No?

DIRECTOR: Fifteen, and I can name them. Government commissions, party commissions, secret police, fire, sanitation and on, and on! They never stopped. I met an old friend at the Regional Party Headquarters one day and he says to me "Hello, Dimitri Ivanovich, how are you? What are you producing?" "What am I producing?" I says, "Testimony! Testimony for commissions!"

CHIEF: (BITTER LAUGH) "Producing testimony." Very funny.

DIRECTOR: (HALF LAUGH) Oh, I learned from this experience. You can chase them all away with two magic words, "Plan fulfillment." They don't care how you do it as long as the plan is met.

SOUND: BUZZER....CLICK

SECRETARY: (FILTER) Time to leave for the factory meeting, Comrade Director.

DIRECTOR: All right, Nonna.

SOUND: CLICK

DIRECTOR: (EXASPERATEDLY) Here we are involved in all sorts of problems and I have to drop everything to go and listen to a lot of hot-shot workers tell me how to run my factory.

CHIEF: Don't worry, Dimitri Ivanovich. We can meet the plan if we can only keep men and machines going at the present rate.

DIRECTOR: Three things and they're serious. That Doctor Konevskaya at the clinic is giving out too many certificates of illness to the workers. Then, our Mechanical Engineer is pulling against us. He resists pushing his machines so hard. And finally, many of the workers are not fulfilling their work quotas. They're tired.

DIRECTOR: They may be tired but they can give more. Let's get the agitators working on this problem.

CHIEF: I'll talk with the Party Secretary about the agitators.

DIRECTOR: And I'll get to our Mechanical Engineer first thing in the morning.

CHIEF: What about Doctor Konevskaya?

DIRECTOR: Evidently that reprimand was not enough. I think I'll drop in at the clinic tomorrow for a check-up and have a little talk with her.

CHIEF: There's something else. Those workers who belong to the Communist Youth League, they're getting out of hand.

DIRECTOR: (EXASPERATEDLY) Those kids, they're forever getting carried away by their own slogans.

CHIEF: That's just the trouble. They're making a pest of themselves. Going around criticizing everybody and everything in the factory. We better be on the lookout tonight at the meeting.

MUSIC: _ _ _ DRAMATIC SWIRL...TRAIL UNDER...OUT.

(CUT 4)

SOUND: HALL SOUNDS LOW IN BG.

KOLYA: (MAKING SPEECH - PROJECTING
OFF MIKE)

Is Comrade Director aware
of the poor organization of
our factory's canteen?
(UNDER-DEFOCUS) I know
what I'm talking about,
Comrades. I have made
careful note of all that
goes on, and I have seen
that day after day, workers
experience long, long
delays in getting their
lunch. Are there no record-
breaking workmen, no
Stakhanovites in the
kitchens? (SOME
LAUGHTER)
We laugh, Comrades. But
you know..and I know, and
the Director should know
that inefficiency is a
serious matter. (QUICK
UNDER)

DIRECTOR

(UP FULL ON FILTER
THOUGHTS FLASHING THROUGH
MIND SARCASTICALLY)
Is Comrade Director aware?
Green kid standing there,
telling me off.
(KOLYA QUICK UP)

DIRECTOR

(SARCASTICALLY-OVER
LAUGH) I should serve
the food myself, I
suppose?

KOLYA: And it is unnecessary. I know of other factories where the same size canteen handles even more men in half the time. And the food is not cold when you get it. Many workers, because of the delays in our canteen, find that they can barely make it back to their machines in time. A worker cannot do his best work under such conditions. If the administration wants to increase production, let them start with the kitchen.

(AD LIB APPROVAL FROM
WORKERS)

SOUND: HALL NOISES UP..

KOLYA: And now, Comrades, a very serious matter..very serious indeed. It concerns our factory's ability to meet the plan. Why is management not

-more-

Two hours of speeches. Late. Olga waiting-- vodka, warm, warm hands. (ANNOYEDLY) Come on, boy, get it over with! (SIGH) Kid like this..a "climber" ..not liked by the men.. but a good worker, over-fulfills his quota..but dangerous..never know what they're going to say or do next.(KOLYA QUICK UP)

DIRECTOR

That woke everybody up. Sore spot. Better look into it.

Bad to worse, he never stops.

KOLYA: (CONT) making use of all available machinery? Why are they holding back? I know my shop and some of the others, and I can see five new machines not in use. (QUICK UNDER) Think of it, Comrades, five new machines sitting around collecting dust. Think what those machines could contribute to our factory's plan...our country's five year plan. I ask you, Comrade Director, why aren't these machines working to accomplish the five year plan in four years? Why aren't they running for the factory and the country? Let us free these machines!

SOUND: HALL NOISES UP

KOLYA: Management! Workers!
I implore you to rally
behind the more progressive
-more-

DIRECTOR

Idiot! We never got the fan belts for those machines.
(KOLYA QUICK UP)

(SUSPICIOUSLY) He's leading up to something.

(FEARFULLY) A pledge! The fool's going to offer a pledge!

KOLYA: (CONT) workers. Let us all
take a pledge to our
socialist state and to the
party of Lenin and our be-
loved leader Comrade Stalin
to work day and night and
over-fulfill our plan by
20%.

Here it comes!
(OCCASIONALLY GRUNTS IN
NERVOUS ANTICIPATION)

Twenty per cent!
Suicide, we'd never
make it!

We can do it! We need
only to work with love
and enthusiasm for our
factory, our state and the
party..the great party of
Lenin and Stalin.

SOUND: EXCITED MURMURING OF WORKERS - UP FULL

CHIEF: (WHISPERING) The pledge, Dimitri Ivanovich. Can't we
do something to head it off?

DIRECTOR: (LOW VOICE) After a patriotic spiel like that what can
I do? What can you as Chief Engineer do? Anything we
say would sound like we were obstructing the plan.

CHIEF: But once the pledge is made to Moscow, we're stuck. If
we didn't live up to it, we'd be in a terrible fix.

DIRECTOR: Wait. The chairman has recognized one of the workers--
it's old Vendeev. Listen....

VENDEEV: (PROJECTING OFF MIKE) (SLOWLY WITH HALTS AND PAUSES)
You all...a-a-a...You all know Vendeev. (SHORT
SWALLOWED UP LAUGH) Some say Vendeev is older than the
factory. (SHORT LAUGH) Not true...the factory is older.
Twenty--twenty-four years, Vendeev is here...with his
hands. The factory grow up around Vendeev. He watches
and works. 1928 only four shops, then eight shops,
ten, twelve shops. Vendeev's hands help--help build.
(GESTICULATING) This hand...and this hand.

PARTOV: A little more to the point, Comrade Vendeev.

VOICE 2: Let him speak...

VOICE 1: Yes...go ahead Vendeev. (FEW AD LIB RESPONSES)

VENDEEV: I'm hurring Comrade Party Secretary (SHORT CHUGGING
LAUGH) but twenty-four years is long time. (LAUGHS--
WORKERS LAUGH TOO)

VOICE 1: You tell him Vendeev.

VOICE 2: Keep going.

VENDEEV: Vendeev is proud to build for his country and the
people...Vendeev wants to build more. But Vendeev
knows mistake. Mistake to try too much. Bad...bad
to push machines. Machines break. Bad...bad to push
men....accidents. Vendeev knows this.

VOICE 1: This is true....

VOICE 2: Well spoken, Vendeev. (A FEW HAND CLAPS)

VENDEEV: A man has one hand....two hands. (SHORT LAUGH) No
more. Can't work lathe with toes. (VENDEEV AND WORKERS
LAUGH) I don't know...maybe so...maybe so. (LAUGHTER
FROM CROWD...SOME APPLAUSE).

CHIEF: (WHISPER) That's it, boss. Here's your chance.

(PAUSE)

DIRECTOR: Well spoken, Comrade Vendeev. Plans no matter how energetic and sincere must still be realistic. Isn't that so, Comrade Party Secretary?

PARTOV: (SLIGHTLY OFF MIKE...HEDGING AT FIRST) Yes, this is true, plans must be realistic and, of course, the party respects the opinions of its older workers. But, on the other hand, no obstacle is too great for a true Bolshevik to overcome.

KOLYA: (OFF MIKE PROJECTING) Comrade Party Secretary, I bow to the wisdom of the director in such technical matters and withdraw my pledge. I don't know the plant as well as the director but I know my machine. And I, Kolya Bakin, as an example to all, will double my work quota tomorrow.

DIRECTOR: A noble pledge, Comrade Bakin. I have made careful notes during your excellent critique, and with the exception of the idle machines--which are not in use because we were never supplied the fan belts for them--with I say this important exception--your comments are well taken. (DEFLAGOGICALLY) Comrades, I am particularly shocked by the report on our factory canteen. (POSSIBLE EARLY FADE POINT) This cannot continue this way. If we ask you to fulfill and over-fulfill your work quotas, you are obliged to demand (FADE) from us that we take care of you. (UNDER....SLOWLY OUT) And we will take care of you. Those delays will not be tolerated any longer. I assure you that we will make every effort to remedy this intolerable situation. My only wish is that I could have known of this sooner....

INKELES: (OVERRIDING DIRECTOR-FADE) The Soviet factory meeting. What is it all about? This is Alex Inkeles again and perhaps I can best answer that by having you listen to what a Soviet engineer told us about the factory meeting. He was one of 500 former Soviet citizens we interviewed in the Western Zone of Germany.

REFUGEE A: (RUSSIAN ACCENT) The Soviet system is a dictatorship but on the other hand you must recognize that there is much public criticism of both minor and responsible officials. The Party makes the workers criticize the factory directors with the single condition that the criticism be aimed against the director personally and not against the Soviet system or the Party.

INKELES: What was the Party after in encouraging the workers to criticize?

REFUGEE: The aim of the Party was to show that as a factory director the things I had done, the mistakes I had made, were not done by the Party or the government. The critical speeches were made to defend the interests of the party. In other words, the Party disguised its interests as the interests of the people. It wished it to appear that I was under the control of the people, as though the people were supporting the party.

INKELES: What were the limits or boundaries to such criticism?

REFUGEE: Of course, criticism of the Party as such, or of the Soviet regime, the Central Committee, the Politbureau or Stalin was impossible. It was not permitted. No doubt in their authority could be expressed. A word against them and that was the end of you.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ DRAMATIC SWIRL... THEN HOLD UNDER (CUT 5)

MIDDLE BREAK

ANNOUNCER: Our documentary on Soviet factory life continues
following a ten-second pause for station identification.

PAUSE: 10 SECONDS

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ CONTINUE UNDER

ANNOUNCER: You are listening to "People Under Communism"....a
series of full-hour programs based on documented
evidence and expert knowledge about the power and
intentions of the Soviet Union. We continue now with
THE MEN WHO MAKE THE MIGS, the documentary story of a
night and a day in a Soviet factory, with a commentary
by Dr. Alex Inkeles of the Russian Research Center
of Harvard University. (MUSIC OUT) Dr. Inkeles..

INKELES:

The Minister, the Director, the Party Secretary, the Chief Engineer and the Communist Youth..they're all talking about "the plan." Perhaps you've begun to think that this^{is} really a documentary about this thing called "the plan"--and you wouldn't be far from wrong. The plan is the central theme in Soviet society. This fact emerged time and time again from our talks with former Soviet citizens. The plan is something in the very atmosphere which Soviet citizens breathe. It is the law which decides what and how much shall be produced, when and by whom it shall be done. The plan, the five year plan, emanates from Moscow, from the Kremlin and the Politburo. Then it is broken down to create a separate yearly plan for each sector of the economy, for each ministry, factory and shop. Eventually through the system of daily work quotas or norms, the plan reaches the most lowly worker in the most distant factory.

Keep in mind that, in the Soviet Union, the state owns and controls all industry, and the Ministries are the central government agencies which direct the work of the factories in different branches of the economy. The Ministry takes its orders from the Communist Party, headed up in the Politburo, which sets the policy for the government and controls all aspects of Soviet life. Although the Party includes only a small proportion of the population, roughly 3%, its influence is all-pervasive. Through its units at every territorial level, in every office, trade union, farm and factory,

-more-

INKELES: (CONT) the Politburo makes certain that its orders are carried out in accord with the Party line. The Party Secretary you met is the head of the Party unit within our valve factory. When a factory has begun to fall behind in fulfilling its plan, the ministry and party organizations begin to apply pressure on the director. And there is only one thing he can do to get his factory out of trouble, and that's fulfill the plan.

SOUND: FACTORY WHISTLE

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ DRAMATIC SWIRL (CUT 6)

SOUND: MACHINE NOISES IN BACKGROUND

KOLYA: HUMMING PATRIOTIC SONG TO SELF..ON MIKE

ANNOUNCER: (OVERRIDING) It is morning at the factory. A young worker is oiling his machine. It is Kolya Bakin, the Communist Youth League worker who criticized the director at the meeting. The old worker, Vendeev, speaks to him.

VENDEEV: (QUICK COME ON) Good morning, Kolya.

KOLYA: MOMENTARILY INTERRUPTS SINGING..THEN CONTINUES.

VENDEEV: I see you're oiling the machine. Tell me, Kolya, is this the machine that will set a new record..make history today?

KOLYA: CONTINUES HUMMING TO SELF.

VENDEEV: (CARRYING ON MOCK CONVERSATION) Oh how stupid of me. You're absolutely right. It is not the machine but you, Kolya Bakin, that will make history. And money too, eh, Kolya?

KOLYA: CONTINUES HUMMING TO SELF

VENDEEV: You say you can use the extra roubles? Your girl friend, Natasha, I suppose. Oh, she'll be proud of you, Kolya. After all, not every worker doubles his quota and gets his name on the record-breaking stakhanovite list..his picture in the papers.

KOLYA: CONTINUES SINGING WITH ADDED EMPHASIS.

VENDEEV: Yes, I can see it now. The caption under the picture in bold print--"Kolya Bakin--Soviet Worker of Tomorrow."
(QUICK CHUGGER LAUGH) Eh Kolya, maybe you think they'll tear out the cornerstone and put in a new one saying: "Kolya Bakin--Stakhanovite--worked here." (LONG CHUGGER LAUGH).

KOLYA: Be quiet, old fool! You won't be laughing this afternoon when I break the record. I'll show you and the others what a real worker can do.

SOUND: CLICK OF SWITCH...WHOOSH OF STARTING MACHINE

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ QUICK SWIRL.....TRAIL UNDER AND OUT. (CUT 7)

SOUND: MUFFLED MACHINE NOISES IN BACKGROUND OF FOLLOWING SCENE

DRUZHININ: (DRONISHLY) I ask you, Comrade Director, who will worry for Druzhinin...if not Druzhinin? Will that boy Kolya out there in the shop worry about me and my machines? No. All he want to do is break a record.

DIRECTOR: Comrade mechanical engineer, you can talk to doomsday but maintenance is still postponed on all machines.

DRUZHININ: What happens if that machine breaks down? Do you think I can pick up the telephone and say, "Hello, this is Druzhinin, send me a part." No, Druzhinin has to take men and kill days making parts.

DIRECTOR: (SARCASTICALLY) Are you blaming me for the shortage of spare parts? Where have you been all your life: You never heard of a spare parts shortage in our country?

DRUZHININ: No, no, I blame you for seeing things too narrowly. The machines...they go like crazy night and day the end of every month. Maintenance is postponed. And

DRUZHININ: (CONT) what happens? We spend the beginning of the next month trying to undo the damage and get the machines back in shape. But then it's the end of the month and the machines must go like crazy once more. This cycle is murder. If you keep it up, sooner or later, the machines wear out or break.

DIRECTOR: The plan, man...the plan. I'm supposed to report fulfillment to Moscow every month. I can't do it if you're drooling over those machines.

DRUZHININ: But can't you see what happens? Instead of spending a few hours doing preventive maintenance at the proper time, we wind up spending days or weeks fixing broken machines.

DIRECTOR: Why do you trouble yourself so? If we fulfill the plan, you'll get your bonus.

DRUZHININ: Bonuses are fine. But I can't satisfy an investigating commission with a bonus. Don't forget I'm responsible to the Ministry for these machines.

DIRECTOR: Am I any less responsible not only for the machines but for the whole factory?

DRUZHININ: But for how long? For all you know you may be transferred tomorrow. I've been in this factory ten years and had seven directors. So I know directors come and go. But Druzhinin stays with the factory and the machines.

DIRECTOR: What do you want, a medal for having lived through so many directors?

DRUZHININ: (ANGRILY) There is a law. A law calling for a definite maintenance schedule.

DIRECTOR: (CURTLY) And another law. The law of plan fulfillment.

DRUZHININ: I will not be held responsible. I'm covering myself.
I'm writing reports! (PAUSE)

DIRECTOR: (SLOWLY--THREATENINGLY) I wouldn't do that if I were you.

DRUZHININ: I'm not afraid.

DIRECTOR: (ALTERING TO A CONCILIATORY APPROACH) Druzhinin....
Fyodor Stepanovitch, must we fight like children?
Isn't there something we can do to lick this problem?

DRUZHININ: The new machines, Dimitri Ivanovich. If we could get them in operation it'd take the load off the others.

DIRECTOR: I've tried every trick in the trade to get the fan belts for those machines. That guy in Moscow is afraid of his shadow. He won't blow his nose without written permission in six copies.

DRUZHININ: It's a shame. Brand new machines and we can't use them.

DIRECTOR: The devil with all their promises! What we can't get legally, we'll get some other way.

DRUZHININ: The supply trouble-shooter?

DIRECTOR: Why not? He hasn't failed us yet. Remember how he came through with those pulley wheels six months ago? Sneaked them from right under the nose of the Ministry.

DRUZHININ: He's a smart trouble-shooter all right.

DIRECTOR: He has influence. Knows when and where to invest a few roubles or arrange a few favors, eh? (SLY LAUGH)

DRUZHININ: Well, they say there's nothing like pull. (BOTH MEN LIGHT LAUGH)

DIRECTOR: There you see, we, engineers, can solve our problems.

DRUZHININ: I don't want any trouble. Just want to live quietly... peacefully. But it pains me to see the machine--

DIRECTOR: What's the matter?

DRUZHININ: Look, look at that boy out there in the shop.

DIRECTOR: Kolya, you mean?

DRUZHININ: Yes..look, look how he drives his machine. Says he's going to break a record on my machine. They'll come around this afternoon, take his picture, put it in the paper, call him a hero. But what of the machine? Nobody takes a picture of the machine.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SARCASTIC HORN COMMENT... FUNNELING OUT (CUT 8)

DOCTOR: (LOW, EDGY VOICE) Breathe deeply, Comrade Director.

DIRECTOR: (BIG BREATH ON MIKE..MOLENTARILY HOLDS IT...EXHALES)
Doctor Konevskaya, what do you do with that stethoscope? Tune in Radio Moscow? (HE LAUGHS PLEASED WITH SELF)

DOCTOR: (FLATLY) Breathe deeply, Comrade Director.
(DIRECTOR-DOCTOR REPEAT BREATHING CYCLE TWICE JUST UNDER FOLLOWING:)

INKELES: This is Alex Inkeles again. A doctor holds a very critical position in the Soviet Union. A certificate of illness from a doctor is just about the only accepted excuse for a Soviet worker if he's late or absent from work. Otherwise the worker gets fined or imprisoned. The fine is stiff. Usually a quarter of his paycheck for six months. And it literally means a semi-starvation diet for the man and his family. The Soviet trade union offers the worker no protection against such fines. The only hope is a certificate of illness from a doctor.

DOCTOR: (FADING BACK ON) That's it. Now exhale.

DIRECTOR: EXHALES

DOCTOR: Have you been overworking, Comrade Director?

DIRECTOR: Work? We never stop, day and night. We're pushing to meet the plan. Very serious situation. This is the last month. Every machine..every man is needed.

DOCTOR: I am aware of the factory's production problems. I was reprimanded by the District Health Committee on this matter three months ago.

DIRECTOR: I'm sorry about that. Some people are awfully blunt, you know. I'm sure that if someone had only come to you and said, "Doctor Konevskaya, we are faced with a serious problem in meeting the plan. We need every worker." Then nothing further would've been necessary. After all, we're both administrators, you have the clinic, I have the factory, we understand these problems.

DOCTOR: I take it you are suggesting we postpone treatment.

DIRECTOR: Let us say that we should reserve judgment in certain cases.

DOCTOR: Until?

DIRECTOR: The plan is met.

DOCTOR: But what if the worker is really sick? Then the illness may become aggravated. The worker instead of spending two days at home, winds up in the hospital for two or three weeks. "Reserving judgment" in such cases works against production and is a great disservice to the state.

DIRECTOR: (QUICKLY) Of course we're all concerned with service to the state. But allow me to explore what you say a bit farther. Maybe this worker does become hospitalized, loses two weeks as you say. But maybe he doesn't. Maybe he finds out he's not so sick after all.

DOCTOR: Isn't it logical to expect that when men are tired from working long hours, sickness is likely to increase?

DIRECTOR: Some are sick...some, only looking for an easy way out. There are people, you know, who try to take advantage of our government's free medical care..

DOCTOR: It is not always easy to know who is sick and who is not sick, Comrade Director. If I send a man back to work and he collapses or has an accident on the job, I can be brought to trial, charged with neglect of duty..an enemy of the people.

DIRECTOR: What are you? Afraid of your shadow? Afraid to move? Where would the factory be if I didn't take a few chances? Do you think the plan would be met? A Soviet administrator, Anna Konevskaya, must be resourceful.

DOCTOR: But I'm more than an administrator. I'm a doctor. A doctor must think of his patient first. He must believe...believe in his patient. A human being suffers....suffers. And the doctor reaches out not to scold him or push him but to understand....to help.

DIRECTOR: Ah, an idealist! (LAUGHS)

DOCTOR: (INDIGNANTLY) Comrade Director!

DIRECTOR: (LAUGHINGLY) Doctors. Such idealists. And on such small salary.

DOCTOR: (SARCASTICALLY) In our country one gets paid by the material he works with. You work with the machine. And I, with the human being.

DIRECTOR: (ANNOYEDLY) All this talk about the...(MIMICKING SLIGHTLY) "human being" leaves me cold. Don't you know there's a plan to meet? Where do you pick up such nonsense?

DOCTOR: (PROTESTINGLY) It is not nonsense! My training... my training tells me the patient, not production, but the patient first. There is a basic tenet of Russian medicine which says, "The doctor is better if he loves his patient more. For without love there is no confidence in a doctor."

DIRECTOR: What would you have us do? Sacrifice production and the interests of the community for a handful of individuals? Individuals come and go, Anna Konevskaya, but the people remain. A doctor must be socially minded. (CHANGEDLY) You must not look at things too narrowly. You must see things, how do they say it, you must see things not as they are but as they will be... tomorrow.

DOCTOR: If a man comes to me and says, "Help me, I'm exhausted, sick." I cannot say to him, "You are looking at things too narrowly. You are not important, it's the people that count." I cannot say....tomorrow, tomorrow." This may all be good and true but the patient will not appreciate it.

DIRECTOR: Listen, do you think I enjoy pushing people? Well I don't. But I know if I don't push, someone else will. And harder..much harder. If the plan isn't met, there'll be trouble for everyone. We're all in this together.

DOCTOR: Of course, we here in the clinic want to help--

DIRECTOR: Then take care in giving out these certificates of illness. You know if you continue to give out so many, someone at party headquarters is liable to think you're trying to sabotage production

DOCTOR: (PROTESTINGLY) Sabotage? Why that's not so--

DIRECTOR: A nasty word and, of course, untrue. But some people are quick to jump to conclusions. They're liable to think you're against the Soviet system.

DOCTOR: (NERVOUSLY) This is not true..not true.

DIRECTOR: I say all this for your own good. It is a messy thing to be investigated by the secret police. So be sensible, Doctor Konevskaya. See that your clinic cuts down, way down, on these certificates of illness.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ LIGHT STING SWIRLING TO A STOP (CUT 9)

PARTOV: Is Doctor Konevskaya in need of a reprimand, Comrade Director?

DIRECTOR: That will not be necessary, Comrade Party Secretary, I had a long talk with her this morning.

PARTOV: I know.

DIRECTOR: She assures me we have her complete cooperation.

PARTOV: You know, some of these people we talk and talk to, and then sometimes we have to stop talking and do something.

DIRECTOR: That will not be necessary.

PARTOV: (NEEDLING) You seem much more confident today, Dmitri Ivanovich. You know I worried about you last night. You were so...so nervous.

DIRECTOR: Don't worry so much about me, Comrade Partov. Worry about the agitators and the fact that so many workers are not meeting their daily work quotas. What's the matter with those agitators - are they tongue-tied?

PARTOV: The agitators are well prepared for their lunch talks to the workers.

DIRECTOR: Well we'll soon see about that. Let's go out into the shops and see what they're telling the workers.

SOUND: LONG TIMPANI DRUM ROLL...SOFT-LOUD-SOFT (CUT 10)

AGITATOR: (PROJECTING OFF MIKE...ROOMY EFFECT...WORKER PERSPECTIVE)
Comrades, we must work hard to strengthen our country against attack. In the capitalist countries, there is a mad arms race with cannibal appeals for a new war and the preaching..preaching of imperialist "power politics" of plunder, death and destruction.

SOUND: TIMPANI ROLL - SOFT-LOUD-SOFT (CUT 11)

AGITATOR 2: (PROJECTING OFF MIKE AS BEFORE) Some people may ask, "Why hasten the tempo? Why hurry?" But, they fail to see that to fulfill the plan in four years, means to speed up the strengthening of our country, the beautifying of our lives. But we must work hard to realize these goals. Work like our friend, Kolya Bakin..Kolya Bakin, who is doubling his quota today. Comrades, to beautify our lives we must first fulfill our quotas.

SOUND: TIMPANI ROLL - SOFT-LOUD-SOFT (CUT 12)

INKELES:

This is Alex Inkeles. As you can see, the Soviet worker shares his lunch hour with the agitator, a worker from his own ship whose added duty it is to carry the message of the Communist Party to the workers. There are two basic themes on which the agitator bases his appeal. The first is fear - fear of attack from the capitalist countries. The second is hope - hope for a better life.

These two themes have been used for thirty years by the Soviet regime to push and pull the workers to greater effort. Listen to what one Soviet refugee, a woman worker, told us about these agitation sessions....

REFUGEE:

They told us that we had paradise, and that the capitalist worker was hungry, and was dying at an early age from overwork. And I actually believed we were in paradise. And the situation was the way it was because it had to be. They told us when communism would come we would all work according to our abilities and receive according to our needs. They said that a cleaning woman who got 60 rubles now would get 1,000 rubles then. Sometimes I actually believed that. After five year plans, we would have communism and it would be such a wonderful life. And some believed it. Those who knew a little about politics if they wanted to say something against it they were unable to.

INKELES:

Did you yourself believe these things?

WOMAN:

I did not usually. But I had to quiet my soul. I had a very unexciting life. I had to do something. So sometimes I thought, "Well, maybe it really will come true

PAUSE:

CUED PAUSE.

KOLYA: BEGINS WHISTLING HIS PATRIOTIC SONG...AFTER TEN SECONDS..

SOUND: CLICK AND WHOOSH OF STARTING MACHINE.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SWEEPS OVER WHISTLING AND MACHINE NOISES THEN SLOWLY
TRAILS OFF LEAVING ONLY MACHINE NOISES (CUT 13)

KOLYA: (FILTER) (SYMPATHETICALLY UNSYMPATHETIC) Less than an hour to go. I must go faster to break record. Vendeev hopes I'll fail. All the workers hope I'll fail. Afraid Kolya Bakin's record will raise next year's quota, make them work harder. (SCORNFULLY) Let them work. If they can't compete with me, too bad for them. I'll show them, I'll get ahead, no one will stop me. (DREAMILY) And when I break the record, the party secretary, the shop chief, maybe even the director will praise me. People will talk about Kolya Bakin at work and at the party and Communist Youth League headquarters. (PATHETICALLY) And I'll be liked. I'll belong....I'll be one of them.

VENDEEV: (CALLING OFF MIKE) Eh, Kolya, it won't be long now. Here comes the party secretary with the photographer. Should I get your girl friend, Natasha, from Shop 2? You can hold hands over the hot machine. (CHUGGER LAUGH)

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SNEAK UNDER VENDEEV..SWIRL UP..TRAIL OUT. (CUT 14)

CHIEF: And so I see, Dimitri Ivanovich, things have been going well for you today.

DIRECTOR: Fine, Andrei Illyich. The mechanical engineer, the doctor and the agitators are all in line now. We're all pulling together. I don't know why I worry so. We have a good team. A good factory. (LAUGHINGLY) And a good chief engineer.

CHIEF: Truer words were never spoken. And to prove it, I've got good news for you. The supply trouble-shooter called. It looks like he may be able to finagle those fan belts for the new machines. We may have to swap some valves for them though.

DIRECTOR: That's all right. We'll have no trouble covering that up.

CHIEF: You know, the Party Secretary isn't too bad. He gave the trouble-shooter the tip on where to go.

DIRECTOR: (KNOWING LAUGH) Plan fulfillment, Andrei Illyich, it makes accomplices of us all. He gets judged by the factory's record too.

CHIEF: Things are looking good, my friend. We're going to meet the plan. And not only military but non-military and spare parts. We have men and machines. (SLY LAUGH) And some extra supplies tucked away for just such an emergency?

DIRECTOR: Where would we be if we didn't hold out a little on the Ministry, eh? (BOTH MEN LIGHT LAUGH)

CHIEF: Some tea, Dimitri Ivanovich?

DIRECTOR: Have we time?

CHIEF: Sure. Vodka, of course, would be better, but tea.

DIRECTOR: If vodka would be better, let's have vodka. Here, I have some in my desk.

SOUND: DRAW BEING PULLED OUT.

CHIEF: (OVER SOUND) Am I a man to go against the will of my director?

DIRECTOR: (MUMBLING TO SELF) Let's see, here's the bottle. But only one glass...no wait. here's another.

DIRECTOR: There.....and there. A toast, Andrei Illyich.

CHIEF: To the machines.

DIRECTOR: To the machines, Andrei Illyich. (GULPS. SMACKS LIPS)
(LAUGHINGLY) You know....speaking about machines...
when I talked to our comrade the mechanical engineer
this morning. (HALF LAUGH) He looks out his little
office window at the Communist Youth League boy--
what's his name again?

CHIEF: Kolya Bakin.

DIRECTOR: Yes, he looks at this Kolya Bakin, and says to me
(DRONISHLY MIMICKS) "See that boy? Says he's going to
break a record on my machine. They'll take his
picture and call him a hero. But what of the machine?
Nobody takes a picture of the machine?"
(BOTH MEN LAUGH)

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ QUICK SWIRL QUICKLY CROSSFADES WITH: (CUT 15)

SOUND: MACHINE NOISES.

PHOTOG: All right, Kolya. Turn this way...toward the camera.

KOLYA: (BREATHILY) (OFF) I got to keep my eye on the machine,
I'm not through yet.

PHOTOG: Never mind the machine. This is for the paper. That's
it. All right, hold it now. (PAUSE) Comrade Party
Secretary, are you in this picture or not?

PARTOV: No, no, there must only be one hero in this picture--
Kolya Bakin. It is Kolya Bakin who is sweeping aside
old bureaucratic quotas, making history for our Soviet
fatherland.

PHOTOG: I know, Comrade Party Secretary. It's all in the story you wrote for the paper. Now, if you'll kindly get out of the way so I can see Kolya, we'll have the picture.

SOUND: GRADUALLY INTRODUCE A CLANGING SOUND.

PARTOV: (IRKED) Of course, I'd be glad to.

KOLYA: (NERVOUSLY) Hurry up, I got to look at the machine. I don't like the sound of it.

SOUND: CLANGING INCREASES...GROWS LOUDER.

PHOTOG: All right, look this way once again....hold it.... hold it...

SOUND: LOUD CLANGING SOUND UP FULL.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SWEEPS OVER BANGING AND SWIRLS TO A STOP (CUT 16)

SECRETARY: (FILTER-EXCITEDLY) Comrade Director, the mechanical engineer to see you! He's all excited.

SOUND: DOOR BANGED OPEN..SHUT

DIRECTOR: Comrade Druzhinin, is anything the matter?

DRUZHININ: (OFF MIKE BREATHING HEAVILY) Well, he's done it!!

DIRECTOR: Broke the record!?

DRUZHININ: (AGONIZINGLY) No! Broke the machine!

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SWIRL (CUT 17)

SOUND: MUMBLING OF VOICES IN BACKGROUND

DRUZHININ: (WAILING) Look.. look what this boy did to my machine.

KOLYA: (DISTRAUGHT) It .. it was working all right. Then the noise .. bang, bang, bang....the noise. I didn't know what was wrong. I..I lost my head, I guess. Before I could think to turn the machine off, it had come to a terrible..grinding stop by itself. I don't know what went wrong. It was working all right.

DRUZHININ: I'll tell you what went wrong. Look at the speed he was running the machine at. Is it any wonder it broke down?

KOLYA: (QUICKLY-DEFENSIVELY) I didn't have it on that speed all day. Just near the end. See? I had to be sure. I had to be sure I'd break the record.

DIRECTOR: (ANGRILY) Break the record? Do you think this is the way the party wants you to break a record? Racing a machine? What kind of a Stakhanovite are you? Any fool can turn up the speed. It takes a great workman to devise new methods to up production. Look...look at that shaft. Twisted...twisted.

DRUZHININ: (HALF ALOUD--TO SELF) Beyond repair..beyond repair. What will I do? Where will I get the spare part?

KOLYA: I didn't mean anything.

DRUZHININ: (CONTINUES MUMBLING TO SELF) Turn my back and this is what they do to me. (CONTINUES AD-LIBBING OFF MIKE)

KOLYA: (ALMOST CRYING) I'm sorry..I'm sorry..

DIRECTOR: (CALMING DOWN) I know that, Kolya, but that doesn't fix the twisted shaft. What did you do to your arm?

KOLYA: (NOTICING FOR THE FIRST TIME) I--I guess in the confusion I banged it against the machine.

DIRECTOR: That's a bad scrape, boy. You better go to the clinic and have them fix it up for you. (CALLS OUT) Vendeev.. Comrade Vendeev.

VENDEEV: (QUICK COME ON) Yes, Comrade Director.

DIRECTOR: Go with Kolya to the clinic.

VENDEEV: (SYMPATHETICALLY) Come on, Kolya.

KOLYA: (NERVOUSLY) No, no. (QUICK FADE OFF) I have to go some place.

VENDEEV: (SHOUTING AFTER HIM) Kolya, Kolya!

DIRECTOR: It's no use, Vendeev. He's gone to the Chief of the Special Section.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ STINGER TRAILING UNDER OUT (CUT 18)

KOLYA: (NERVOUSLY, STUTTERING SLIGHTLY) And so you see, it was all like I said. It-it was just a mistake. I-I didn't mean any harm by running the machine so fast. It really wasn't my fault. I-I just make a mistake. A mistake.

SPETSODEL: It might be a mistake. (SUSPICIOUSLY) But then it might be something else.

KOLYA: (FEARFULLY) But I'm a Communist Youth League Worker.. see my card..and I was trying to break a record.. double my quota.

SPETSODEL: That is no justification. Our great leader Comrade Stalin warns us that the new wrecker--the new saboteur of production--will be just such a person as you, Kolya Bakin. He will be a good worker, a Youth League or Party member, active in every respect. This will be the new wrecker.

KOLYA: (TERRIFIED) No..no..It was only a mistake. I didn't mean it. I didn't.

SPETSODEL: Don't try to justify yourself. Your justification will be in your action. (OILY-FRIENDLY) You will do us a little favor. We are concerned about some of the workers in your shop. They don't fulfill their work quotas. It may be something, and then again it may not. But we must be ever on the lookout for those who are against the Soviet system. That's why I'm here as
-more-

SPETSODEL: (CONT) a representative of the Secret Police in this factory. And that's why you will help us. You will make careful note of all loose talk you hear from the workers in your shop and secretly come and report it to me. You will do us this little favor.

MUSIC: _ _ _ _ SOUR COMMENTARY..SHARPLY_PUNCTUATED (CUT 19)

CHIEF: A glass of vodka, Dimitri Ivanovich?

DIRECTOR: (WEARY SIGH) Yes, Andrei Illyich.

SOUND: POURING GLASS OF VODKA....PAUSE...

DIRECTOR: (GULFS IT DOWN) (DESPAIRINGLY) What's the use? Just when you think you have your problems licked, the situation in hand...puff. It blows up in your face. My life is one long crisis.

CHIEF: Too bad about that machine. Of all the machines, it had to be one manufacturing valves for the MIGS.

DIRECTOR: (NOSTALGICALLY) You know, sometimes I dream of a day when there won't be any last minute assignments. "Here, make pipe fittings for three months." And there won't be phone calls from those guys in Moscow. Everything will be quiet (LOWERS VOICE) quiet.... And, Andrei Illyich, supplies, supplies will arrive on time. And we won't have to press the machines like crazy....or the men. The Party Secretary will stay out of my hair and everybody will live quietly... (LOWERS VOICE) quietly.

CHIEF: A good dream, Dimitri Ivanovich. But I'm afraid that's all.

MUSIC: SNEAKS IN OVER LAST OF FISHER'S WORDS

NARR: Addendum: Pishevari ^{had} left for Russia 45 narrow minutes before the Persian Army returned to Tabriz. Close, close call. (PAUSE) The Soviets--who had trained him, and under whose dubious blessing he ruled--did not come to Pishevari's support. Under Pishevari - the people ate - whatever the future price! The landlords came back with the Persian Army. Demanding their back-rent. Starving the people again for grain-payments. Again the people did not eat. (MUSIC OUT)

FATIMA: (NO SPIRIT NOW) Oh, yes. We ate. The crop was nothing but we ate.

KARIM: Grass and roots.

FATIMA: We ate.

KARIM: The livestock died.

FATIMA: The people ate it.

KARIM: Then they died.

SOUND: DISTANT WHISTLE OF TRANSCAUCASIAN R.R.

FATIMA: The Transcaucasian brought us wheat, Russian wheat!

KARIM: Russia was a true friend to us.

FATIMA: (UP: FIREBRAND) Pishevari!

CROWD: WE WANT PISHEVARI!

SOUND: TRAIN WHISTLE...FADING AS..

NARR: No good to explain that Pishevari's long-range program might have been quite another matter: that the Communist device is to pursue different policy with different people at different stages of the struggle. The people needed reform. Land. Food. And while they gratefully ate Russian bread, the Moscow radio crooned to them.....

SOUND: SOME STATIC EFFECTS: CARRIER WAVE. NOT STRONG. LOSE EARLY

MOSCOW: Thousands of people wander in the streets of Tabriz. No one helps them. They are condemned to death by starvation and exposure. Their present masters are indifferent. And the Anglo-American imperialists prepare more war.

NARR: (LOW) The Moscow voice does not say it; the whisper of it is implicit in every impulse from the aethers of Radio Moscow...

MOSCOW: Join the mighty Soviet Union in the struggle for peace...

NARR: (WHISPER) Comrade you have nothing to lose.....

MOSCOW: There is enough for all....

NARR: (WHISPER) Nothing, comrades, to lose....

MOSCOW: --enough for all--but you are condemned to death by your present masters...

NARR: (WHISPER) Nothing to lose - but your chains.....

MOSCOW: This..is Radio Moscow.

(PAUSE OF ABSOLUTE SILENCE)

NARR: (UP) Hello, Washington? Come in Washington! (PAUSE)
Hello, London, come in London, are you there, London?
Come in, The West, come in, Washington?

(PAUSE OF SILENCE) (THEN---

MUSIC: ENTERS SOMBERLY AND UNDER

NARR: Azerbaijan means.. "The Place Of The Keeping Of The Fire." The Communists have fanned that fire to the blazing point. Pishavari was a Communist - yet his program was so popular that if a free election had been held in 1950 thousands would have voted for him. (MUSIC) There are three million people in Azerbaijan. (PAUSE) Not one thousand of the three million are communists. (PAUSE)

MOSCOW: (MELLIFLUOUSLY) This...is Radio Moscow.

FATIMA: He gave us to eat! We must eat. We must hold up our heads! You hear? You hear? (WEEPS BITTERLY AS---)

MUSIC: SURGES IN FOREBODINGLY: BRIDGE, THEN SEGUE TO EERILY MINOR 'MUEZZIN' THEME, THEN FLUTILY, ALMOST SOLO. VERY FAR. NO PRESENCE.

MUEZZIN: (FAR OFF ULULATING: PROLONGEDLY)

la ilaha illa - 'llah....

Mohammed rasulu - 'llah.....

(REPEAT UNDER----

NARR: (LOW) No God but Allah; Mohammed is the messenger of Allah. (BEAT) Far and high from the towers and minarets of Islam the Muezzin calls the faithful to prayer. From the Mediterranean to the Pacific - from Africa to Red Russia, one-eighth of all the peoples of earth fall to their knees - face Mecca; pray.

MUEZZIN: (FAR OFF) la ilaha illa - 'llah.....

Mohammed rasulu - 'llah.....

MUSIC: ENDS LONE 'MUEZZIN' THEME - DARKENS IN VARIATION.

NARR: But there are towers and minarets in the Soviet too where false Muezzins from towers of darkness cry, "Fools - your reward is neither here..nor there..!"

MUSIC: ACCENT AND UNDER AGAIN

NARR: And there has been no reward for Islam - Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Pakistan - no peace or dignity or security in the system by which the landlords outrage the very soil over which they hold themselves masters; exhaust the earth with their own greed; exhaust and afflict the spirit of the people who work the soil.

NARR: (CONT) A peasant in a Moslem village is a slave. He pays four-fifths to seven-eighths and even more of his crop to the landlord. The landlord owns everything - land, mud houses, animals..the very water for irrigation. (MUSIC OUT) The voice of cumbered Islam is the voice of any enlightened Moslem - like Musa Bey Alami of Jericho-- a lawyer and patriot--British-trained; forward-looking.

ALAMI: What does Asia want from the West? Not your money, although thank you. First - please tell America not to lecture us about Democracy. Don't tell our people we must choose between democracy and communism. The people here are not free to make the choice. They are slaves. They are illiterate. They have no present escape from their misery. For them there is no such thing as real liberty and choice.

NARR: Then what should we do?

ALAMI: Help us in a peaceful way to get rid of the feudal system that holds us helpless in its grip. America should throw its weight on the side of the honest progressive elements which can be found in every country. We have them!

NARR: In Persia a Lur warrior talks to you. The Lurs are proud - claiming to be the purest Persians--tribesmen, not farmers. This Lur is old before his time. Ghosts dwell in his eyes.

LUR: (AGED BUT NOT OLD. QUIET) Send us your teachers; send us technicians. Show us how to make the exhausted soil yield a living again. Help us to land reform so that the soil we strike with our hoe belongs to us a little. We will work. We want to work. If need be we will fight - and with food in our bellies and our own land beneath our feet - we will do our own fighting. (DISTANTLY) If need be.....

NARR: You know what he is thinking. You have heard and read how their own armies have pillaged the tribes of Persia. The false muezzins in their towers of darkness know - and say, "Your reward, brave Kurd, your reward, Lur, or Ghasashgai or Bakhtiari surely is not here? Remember Colonel Amir Ahmadi?" they croon. "The Butcher of Luristan?-----"

MUSIC: A LONG LOW MOAN OF ANGER AND PAIN...AND PEAK: THEN UNDER AGAIN...

NARR: Do they remember?! Do they recall Colonel Ahmir Ahmadi!

LUR: (HAUNTED) ^{The ruler} Reza Shah wanted to destroy our leadership, break up the tribes, humble us. Perhaps he thought that the way to make Persia a nation was by destroying the ancient rights of the tribes. One day---when we were in camp (MUSIC IN LOW MUTED STRINGS IN SWIFT GALLOPING EFFECT) we saw a cloud of dust moving toward us across the plain. It was an army troop sent by Reza Shah. Too late to flee with our women and children, too late to resist! They came right at us, their Colonel shouting orders...

MUSIC: GALLOP IN STRINGS BLENDS INTO...

SOUND: TROOP OF HORSES RIDING FULL GALLOP. STAY WITH THEM
THEN LIFT TO FULL GAIN A MOMENT AND HORSES PULL UP,
SNORTING AND WHINNYING. (THREE LIVE SOUNDS FOR HOOVES
PLUS RECORD IF NECESSARY)

AMIR AHM: (FADING IN WITH HORSES) Cover the men! There are babies
and children in the tents. Dispose of them! Shoot the
women - arrest the men! To it!

SOUND: MEN DISPERSE FIRING. SCREAMS. CRIES. ETC. FADE OFF FOR.

LUR: (LOW: DEADLY) The soldiers put their pistols to the
heads of the little ones. Fired. Women were screaming
all around. Falling. My wife was cowering from the men;
I seized my knife...(SOUND: SHOT, CLOSE ON) The rifle
bullet knocked me down. I lost consciousness.

SOUND: FADE ALL SOUNDS.

NARR: (AFTER A MOMENT: PROMPTING) You lost consciousness..

LUR: (FAR AWAY) Eh? (PAUSE) Oh. When I awoke, my wife was
lying dead across me. Her blood ran down my chest. The
troops were still there. And their colonel. (WITH SLOW
HORROR) I could not move for what I saw. You may not
believe me, American - when I tell you what I saw. But
by the bread of my house I swear that it is true.

NARR: (LOW: TO US) When a Lur swears by the bread of his
house, he tells the truth. There is a long stillness.
Wind whisks a tiny whirlwind of the everlasting dust
into the hut. An exploring lizard probes into some
licorice root and darts away. You wait. Then--

LUR: There are many cruel tortures available to Asia..

NARR: Available to the whole of mankind let us say.

LUR: One Persian Shah ordered 30,000 human eyes brought to him. He counted them himself to make sure.

NARR: May his name be forgotten forever.

LUR: Starving a man by chaining him in a dungeon filled with water is more horrible than you may think.

NARR: (You remember the Moslem battalion so disciplined by the Reds in Azerbaijan)

LUR: But the device of the colonel of Persian horse was unique. I saw I tell you.

NARR: Go on.

LUR: They were heating a square iron plate red hot. Then two soldiers brought up one of our young men - held him fast. I saw a third soldier step behind him with a great sword. The colonel gave the signal...

AMIR: (OFF) Run!

LUR: The swordsman swung - the man started running..... The head fell. With tongs, the colonel pressed the hot plate to the stump. The headless man took one step and fell.

COL: (OFF) Come! They can do better than that! Bring me the tall one!

LUR: The tall one did better. He ran two paces..and fell. Bets were made.....It was rare!

NARR: (LONG PAUSE) Who won?

LUR: The colonel came off very well..especially on the one who ran fifteen paces. A record!

NARR: And it shall be recorded!

LUR: Shall be recorded? American, it is recorded. All of the outrages. The unspeakable. But as yet - we can do nothing.

NARR: What happened to the colonel?

LUR: The colonel? Oh - he became a general and later Minister of War.

NARR: Is he still alive?

LUR: He lives daintily in Teheran. The loot he took from our villages filled dozens of lorries. Today the Colonel is a very rich man. He bought several hundred houses in Teheran with his plunder, The Butcher! (SPITS) Amir Ahmadi!

NARR: The sun is going down. The old man gets up - asks that his identity be not revealed.

LUR: I am a Persian. I love my country. I would gladly give my life for it. But I hate our oppressors.

NARR: His eyes wander, ghosts in them and all. And he speaks another clue to the enchantment of communism in a disenchanted land...

LUR: We fear Russia. We know that the Soviets are an enemy of the people. But we also have one right in our midst.

MUSIC: IN. A SATIRICAL PARAPHRASE OF "SCHEHEREZADE" PERHAPS...

NARR: Amir Ahmadi lives. You meet him at garden parties in Teheran. He is stocky and erect. He has his training in the Cossack Army of Russia. He does not mind at all references to his methods. A lady asks him...(MUSIC: OUT)

GIRL: Tell me, what is your relationship with the people of Luristan today?

NARR: He smiles, showing his gold teeth...

AMIR: Oh, they think very highly of me. I am a household word.

GIRL: How very nice! In what way?

AMIR: (LAUGHS GENTLY) In Luristan if a child cries, the mother says, "Hush, or Amir Ahmadi will get you." May I take your glass????

NARR: (COLD) And so false muezzins from towers of darkness in the Soviet cry "Fools - your reward is neither here-- nor there." For here is medieval darkness, feudal slavery; and there to the west - is America, failing in some Magic of Hope for disenchanted Iran. The Moscow muezzins omit saying that the demands upon our magic are everywhere, and heavy, and that they have made it so. That there are many spells upon many lands and that we must learn new and powerful sorceries for them quickly. Then...what can America do? What will America do? Let's turn again to Doctor Harold H. Fisher of the Hoover Institute. Dr. Fisher?

FISHER: I am one of the many who have been asked that question point-blank, who have seen it in the faces of the young men and women of Asia and the Middle East. These same questions have been faced by the distinguished author of Strange Lands And Friendly People, the book from which the foregoing happenings in the Middle East have been taken. Mr. Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court has traveled among these new neighbors of ours on the other side of the world, he has talked with them in their villages and in their towns. And he has been deeply moved. Justice Douglas.

DOUGLAS: One who loses himself in the villages of Asia for weeks on end returns to America profoundly disturbed. The America he loves is not the America the people of Asia see. The attitudes we express, the words we use, the policies we pursue too often injure rather than help the cause of freedom-loving people. We are in danger of becoming the symbol of what the people of Asia fear and hate. We have allowed fear to make us forget that the most effective bases we can get in Asia are bases in the hearts of Asia's millions, not bases in their lands.

The complaints of the peasants of Asia are just as specific as those in our own Declaration of Independence; and to them they are just as important. Lack of medical care comes first; lack of schools comes second. Then land reform and a desire to learn how to farm the modern way. Then comes the right to vote, to elect their rulers, to expel and punish corrupt officials. And finally, and of great importance, a new sense of nationalism which shows itself in many ways: a tendency to nationalize natural resources, to have local capital in partnership with foreign capital in developing the country; and an exultant feeling of independence and resentment against meddling by foreigners. The people of Asia want the good things of life, but they include freedom and justice among those good things. Freedom and justice are indeed our missions in life. We must

DOUGLAS: (CONT) go to the Asians not in search of customers for our surplus goods but in search of partners in the long struggle for freedom and justice and peace.

If we are to save Asia from Communism, we must by deed as well as by word identify ourselves with the aspirations of the peasants, and help them by kindness and understanding to achieve a fuller life. We must go to the East with humility, not condescension, mindful of our debt for the great cultures the East has given us and mindful of the privileges history has given us to repay it.

(MUSIC: IN FULL AND CROSS-FADE WITH)

SOUND: FADE IN DRONE OF HEAVY BOMBERS. UNDER--

NARR: In the summer of 1950 Mulla Mustafa Barzani's Kurdish troops were poised on the Russian border near Maku, ready to strike into Persia. Russian aircraft dropped leaflets...

MOSCOW: (P.A. OR ECHO) The U.S.S.R. is ready to help you! Liberation is at hand. You will have your own republic! Welcome Mulla Mustafa Barzani, your liberator. (FADE)
The U.S.S.R. is ready to help you! Liberation is at hand...

NARR: Then Barzani's 'liberation' troops vanished. The Soviet planes vanished. The Soviet concern for the oppressed Kurds vanished. (PAUSE) At Maku they thought the change was due to the success of U.N. Forces in Korea... golden opportunity to exploit that advantage!

SOUND: JEEP. UNDER--

NARR: Resigned to the general disenchantment and the decline of Magic in Persia since Scherherezade's time, you eschew flying carpets for a jeep to Maku - almost in the shadow of Biblical Mt. Ararat. Here, Noah grounded the Ark at last. Here across the border lies Russia - watching, and waiting for the right moment to turn poverty and unrest and hunger and discrimination to her own ends. (FADE JEEP) You talk with Mostafa Vakili - young, forward-looking governor and positively nobody's fool. HE has a plan!

MOSTAFA: See here - this great valley has rich land, rich! But who has it all? Absentee landlords - representing the worst in the system. During the terrible, terrible winter of 1949-50 when the peasants were starving, what do our absentee landlords do? Hold on to their grain for the highest price. That's speculating in Life and Death! Absolutely! Our population around here is 5000 - and hundreds died. The people must own the land they work! They do in your country - true?

NARR: Of course.

MOSTAFA: Mostly??

NARR: Mostly.

MOSTAFA: Incentive! The will to produce comes from owning your own land - true?

NARR: True.

MOSTAFA: Reform in the Middle East must begin with the land? Given?

NARR: Given.

MOSTAFA: Okay. The only political antidote to communism here must be a program of social justice that is reflected in the lives of the people. (ON EDGE OF HIS CHAIR NOW) We want a revolution in Asia, but not the kind the communists want for us --unless we can't help ourselves any other way. Okay; what are the basic objectives of this "Revolution" call it - in Asia? One--- Political independence for Asia.....(OVERLAP NARRATOR)

NARR: Political independence....that's what millions of Asians are asking for.

MOSTAFA: (QUICK FADE IN) ...we look for a decently rising standard of living...Social equality....access to knowledge..international security. And self-respect. I..I happen to know the dangers of communism but few Asians do. Why should they? Since they've never enjoyed the rights and the liberties the Communists destroy, they don't look on communism as a menace.

NARR: They really believe that they have nothing to lose but their chains.

MOSTAFA: In fact they consider communism is a way to gain some sort of equality in the world and lift the burden of poverty and ignorance in Asia.

NARR: What can America do?

MOSTAFA: Very much! Very much. But you've been in the Philippines fifty years and today the grievances there are much the same as in Asia.

NARR: We send tools, tractors, experts..

MOSTAFA: Good..good. But give us the advantage of your intellectual product as well as your factory product. Teachers..doctors. Help us to our own democracy, just don't talk about yours. Please, never mind the tall buildings, your automobiles, and the highest standard of living in the universe. You started at grass roots; allow us the privilege and the pride of starting at rice-roots. But help us start.

NARR: A few modern tractors here would be a..

MOSTAFA: With modern tractors, dear sir, we will produce impressive amounts of rust.

NARR: (CHUCKLES TOLERANTLY AS MOSTAFA GOES RIGHT ON)

MOSTAFA: No, please. To people historically accustomed to sickles you do not suddenly give tractors at great cost to your taxpayers. No. You give them scythes - a great agrarian advance for them and not so punishing to the giver. True?

NARR: (AFTER THOUGHT) True.

MOSTAFA: Rice roots - right?

NARR: Right.

MOSTAFA: Ookay! And land for the rice to take root in. Above all - the land beneath them! (LAUGHS) Epigram, eh? Anyhow - give us your science, your basic grass-roots skills first. Send us people to teach their use.

NARR: Like our own County Agents in America.

MOSTAFA: We'll go on from there. We want help, yes - but not charity. Help us to help ourselves. And such help includes moral support, patience, understanding. In the help we wish and need, these are priceless ingredients. These are the carbon and the manganese that makes the steel tough and hard. (PAUSE: HOSPITALLY) I'm thirsty, would you like a nice cold drink?

NARR: Ookay!

MUSIC: IN AND UNDER

NARR: You sip a cold drink. There ARE ice-cubes and enlightenment in ^{Persia} and there are others like Mostafa Vakili who know the need and the answer to the need. For example, the young Shah of ^{Persia} who turned over the royal estates to be cut up and sold to the peasants.. doing what they can to help themselves while asking us for help. Contributing, in fact, to the Near East

NARR: (CONT) Foundation - an American enterprise that is giving our grass roots skills to the villages. They mean it when they say, "Help us to help ourselves!" And to understand! Above all to understand them - for out of understanding stems the best benevolence. Useless and vain for us to boast of our skyscrapers to people huddled in dirt floor huts. Useful and to our own great interest to show them how to guard their health, save their cattle, increase their crops. Otherwise.. hopelessly convinced only of the differences between us and them - they will listen to false doctrines; turn elsewhere for help and understanding. (PAUSE: MUSIC OUT) True?

MUSIC: (AFTER PAUSE) IN EERILY. FLUTEY OR CLARINET-Y. EEBIE AND WITH THE STRANGE SWEET SADNESS OF TWILIGHT AND PRAYER.

MUEZZIN: (FAR AWAY: PROLONGED CHANT)

la ilaha illa - 'llah.....

Mohammed rasulu - 'llah.....

(REPEAT UNDER--)

NARR: (QUIET) Evening again. The muezzin stands tall against the blue and gold twilight sky of Islam. The people pray. (HUSHED: MOVED) There is a hush on earth. One-eighth of all humanity is at prayer. Prays..and hopes.. and dreams. They are not so unlike us. They are men. And God made man in His own Imago; in the Image of God made He him. And quantities equal to equal quantities are equal to each other. And these - equal quantities - this self-same flesh, these kindred beings want humbly only what our founders wanted two hundred years ago.

-more-

NARR: (CONT) A place to stand on and call their own. We had cast a bell for Philadelphia; the false muezzins who cry "Fools" - forge chains. When the prayers to Allah are finished -- to the music of which metal will the Faithful turn???? (MUSIC OUT)

MUEZZIN: (ALONE IN FAR B.G.) (FINISHES LONGLY) (TO DEAD SILENCE)
(PAUSE)

NARR: Again the Chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library,
Dr. Harold H. Fisher.

FISHER: That bell we rang in Philadelphia a hundred and seventy-five odd years ago gave notice to the world that we believed all men had certain unalienable rights - life - liberty - and the pursuit of happiness. The barriers to these rights in Asia are not the same as those our ancestors overcame nearly two centuries ago. The threats to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness come from despotism, but a twentieth century despotism armed with twentieth century weapons of persuasion and coercion. We are learning what these new barriers and threats are. But we learn slowly and history is being made with the speed of the machinery that is changing our world. We must learn faster and we must decide to apply what we learn. Just two decades ago China stood where Persia and other Middle Eastern countries stand today. We did not learn fast enough and we did not begin soon enough in China to use what we knew. China has taken that Communist detour - that short cut to felicity through catastrophe. Our failure has made it worse for China, worse for us and worse for all the world. But this need not mean that all of Asia must follow China's path or that China will never turn from ^{her} path. The question is, have we learned anything?

FATIMA: (FILTER) Listen.

MUSIC: IN WITH CHINESE GONG - THEN MILITANT CHINESE THEME
AS PERHAPS, "RIDING THE DRAGON" - THEN SEGUE TO MOOD.

NARR: Some more tea, Wang?

WANG: (TIRED. CULTIVATED. IN A KIND OF PSYCHIC SHOCK) Please.

MUSIC: OUT.

SOUND: POUR TEA. SLIGHT TINKLE OF CHINA.

NARR: So!

WANG: Thank you.

NARR: Cigarette?

WANG: Thank you.

NARR: Light.

SOUND: STRIKE MATCH. PAUSE

WANG: Thank you.

NARR: (QUIETLY: TO US) You have received advance introduction to the young, sensitive Chinese smoking quietly in your room. The traffic of Kowloom murmurs beneath your window. "I know him and his family well" your mutual friend has told you. "He was a school teacher in an agricultural high school in Honan Province. I think the facts as he saw them are not generally known." So -- you wait for Wang to speak.....

WANG: (DEEP BREATH) You may ask me anything.

NARR: Anything?

WANG: It's all over now. Ask.

NARR: Perhaps you'd better just tell it.

WANG: How shall I start?

NARR: Tell me about your village.

WANG: (FOND A MOMENT) My village. (THEN TO HIS STORY) Very poor, very ancient, loving peace. Together, for centuries, its people suffered war, oppression, misrule, crushing taxes. Corruption. Famine. Poverty. These last ten years especially, the burden had pressed down so cruelly that not even the oldest villagers could recall the like.

NARR: The civil war?

WANG: Yes. Our village changed hands many times. The Nationalists were greedy and loud. But the Communists were quiet and disciplined and polite. When the communist quartermasters bought our rice they asked now much the Nationalists had taken. If the Nationalists had taken a hundred piculs, the Communists would take only fifty.

NARR: Surely you saw through that tactic?

WANG: We didn't then. "Pursue different policies with different people in different stages of the struggle."

NARR: Of course. Our Mr. Lincoln put it dryly. "You can't fool all of the people all of the time."

WANG: They fooled us. (MUSIC: SOFT CHINESE MARCH) One night in March the Communists marched back into town in yellow cotton suits and carrying American and Japanese grenades and rifles. They were in such force this time that we knew they were there to stay and we were glad. On the evening of the first day of the occupation - a young man in ordinary peasant's clothes spoke to us...MUSIC OUT)

COMM: (YOUNG BUT SURE) Comrades! Our forces have taken over here in their progress to victory. We declare the grain in the government granaries yours!

AD LIB: WONDERMENT. APROVAL. TENTATIVE AS YET.

COMM: It is your grain, paid for with your bitter toil! Our liberating troops must hear however. They will take 80% of the grain. The rest is yours!

AD LIB: MORE POSITIVE APPROVAL NOW.

COMM: You see for yourselves - we are simple farmers like yourselves banded together in the greatest army of liberation ever witnessed. For now - take your share of the rich men's grain...

AD LIB: CROWD STARTING TO GO TO IT!

COMM: Wait! One moment! Wait! (CROWD LISTENS) There will be another meeting here tomorrow. All attend. Important! NOW take your grain!

MUSIC: SHORT BRIDGE.

COMM: Comrades! The yoke of Kuomintang oppression is lifted from your shoulders. Henceforth you are free men. Remember - the land, the property, everything in China belongs to you, the People of China. Take good care of it. Destroy nothing. For whatever is destroyed is your loss.

AD LIBS: MURMURING APPROVAL.

COMM: You must expose any spies in your midst. If you know where Kuomintang guns are hidden, tell your elders. Failure to supply this information is a serious crime against the people. (SOFTLY THEN) One thing more: we want to know your problems, your sorrows, your complaints. Has anyone oppressed or stolen from you? Any offense no matter how small! Our Party is dedicated to abolish ALL injustice forever. You will help by revealing even the smallest crimes of the unjust. (FADE) Criticize us; criticize our Red Army. You must be our teachers. Only in that way can we learn and improve.....

WANG: (QUIETLY. SLIGHTLY OVERLAPS COMMUNIST'S FADE) Leaders who did not sign a pledge of compliance were regretfully replaced. Within the first week more than half of the elders who hesitated against informing against their own villagers - even the unjust - were replaced by younger men. The young men you see had boundless enthusiasm for the new regime.....

NARR: They must have liked what they saw and heard.

WANG: Everything the communists said was true and right..

COMM: (OFF A BIT) You're poor, you've always been poor..

ALL: Yes!

COMM: You wear rags, hardly enough to cover your skins; you shiver with cold or quake with fever...

ALL: Yes, yes!

COMM: It has always been so.!

ALL: Always!

COMM: It will not be so much longer! The International Soviet shall be the human race!

ALL: APPROVAL. CHEERS. YES, YES, ETC... (FADE ALL)

WANG: We agreed to all those truths. What the people did not notice was that soon, the Leader asked questions - and gave his own answers as well. Who had shown the way to freedom? Sun Yat Sen. Who had betrayed him? Chiang Kai-Shek. Who supported Chiang? Americans and British. Why? Because they were capitalist countries and wanted China as a source of cheap labor and as a dumping ground for their surplus goods. And so forth. Hatred was the theme. The young hotheads began to agitate for revenge, redress--scapegoats. But the Leader would listen to no talk of violence...

COMM: (OFF SLIGHTLY) There will be no violence! We have other problems. For example - I warn you - you will have banditry here because arms remain hidden in your homes, unregistered with us. I warn you as a friend!

WANG: But many arms caches had been revealed. People were constantly reporting small offenses of no consequence. The Leader asked it. What harm in it? And everybody wanted to be cooperative. (BEAT) A new village elder had been selected at one meeting. A younger man.

NARR: They can indoctrinate the young.

WANG: Then the young men from 16 to 30 were interviewed one by one with courteous and fatherly interest. I confess, I was won by the Leader's charm and interest...

COMM: How old are you, Wang?

WANG: Twenty-three.

COMM: Farmer?

WANG: Teacher.

COMM: Teacher! With that build!

WANG: I farmed with my father, first.

COMM: Your father must have been a big man.

WANG: Yes. He was. Thank you.

COMM: You've eaten somewhat better too?

WANG: Indirectly, yes. Since my people receive a bit more to eat I do not have to share my own good fortune so much. It's been better.

COMM: Not enough better. We should like it to be very much better. Ah well - we must work and fight. Thank you Wang. (FADE) Next please.....

WANG: Four days of those mysterious interviews. On the fifth day - the mystery was cleared up--

COMM: Comrades! We are now ready to organize the Poor Peasants League. This League is the Vanguard of the Revolution. In it will be the cream of the youth. Old machinery must go. You young are the new leaders. To you will go the fruits of victory!

AD LIB: CHEERS...FADE

WANG: Still heads did not roll. So far the peasants were a little better off than before; they had a little more rice and a louder voice in the village meetings - but so far - that was all...

COMM: (OFF A BIT) Comrades!--you must stop your clamor for the rich men's houses and land. You will receive what is coming to you in good time - but patience! The time is not yet ripe!

WANG: That's how it was. Everything was so gradual, so reasoned, so moderate that we couldn't tell what was really happening. But in his office, the Leader was always at work. At what - we learned later. Classifying. Listing..family by family.....

COMM: (RECORDING ABSORBEDLY) Landlord families with over a hundred mou of land....six. Rich peasants, 70 to 100 mou of land.....twenty-five..... Middle peasants, 30 to 70 mou of land..sixty-one...Poor peasants 5 to 30 mou of land.....(FADE) Forty-three families. Landless ones...

WANG: We learned later. (BEAT) It was the Doomsday Book.

NARR: Cigarette?

WANG: No...(AFTERTHOUGHT) Thank you.

NARR: Tea, then.

WANG: (UNHEARING. FIXEDLY) There came a closed meeting of the Poor Peasants' League. At the Party Leader's order - the members nominated the three villagers least liked by the community. A dossier of all the complaints filed against them by the townspeople was prepared. At the next meeting - they were named. (PAUSE) It was the first time since the Liberation, six months before, that anyone had been attacked individually, by name.....

NARR: They were...'liquidated'?

WANG: No. The Leader himself said that perhaps jail was enough for these criminals.

NARR: The people were satisfied?

WANG: (A BITTER LITTLE LAUGH) The people believed that they themselves and not their new government was taking the initiative in ferreting out and punishing their enemies.

NARR: Surely you began to see through the tactic? - to isolate the enemy a few at a time - starting with the most unpopular elements in the community.

WANG: I did not see through it - until the next purge.

NARR: To give it its real name.

WANG: Next on the Leader's list were conservative, influential men..wise and reasonable; loved and respected in the community. They were simply 'assigned' elsewhere - scattered, for duty, among several other provinces. Quite simply done.

NARR: Divide and conquer.

WANG: We learned later that they were then picked up in their new communities as spies..saboteurs..enemies of the people. Being strangers, they were easy to condemn before the people. You see?

NARR: Down through echelon and echelon of victims.

WANG: You see? How one can influence so many!

NARR: (You think of Azerbaijan with less than one thousand communists - among three million. The proportion is there for the Shape of Things To Come!)

WANG: Now came the Blood trials - when every farmer was urged to recall any grievance, fancied or real, against anybody. And now the Leader showed no mercy. More than half of the village's families were ruined. Ordeal by Blood....

LEADER: Answer! Did the accused to your knowledge ever mistreat a servant?

MAN: I..I do not know. I was never in his house to see.

COMM: Has a dog of the accused ever bitten a villager?

MAN: Leader, even a poor man's dog sometimes bites.

COMM: Did a dog of the accused ever bite a villager? Answer!

MAN: I..I believe.

AD LIBS: SOME LOW MURMURS.

COMM: The accused will stand up.....

NARR: Page by page the Doomsday Book had been written, with the unsuspecting help of villagers who thought what they were reporting was trivial, warranting trifling rebuke to the guilty. It was not.

SOUND: WHIP. BLOW. ANGUISHED CRY OF VICTIM... (OFF)

NARR: The penalty now was death...

SOUND: WHIP BLOW. CRY. (OFF)

WANG: (BLANKLY) In our village - twenty men were beaten to death...

SOUND: (FAR OFF NOW) WHIP. BLOW. CRY.

NARR: Was there nobody to protest?

WANG: The Voice of Reason and protest had been sent away to the provinces.

NARR: The younger men then?

WANG: The younger men believed in the necessity for the purges.

NARR: Did you?

WANG: Not now. It becomes too late so suddenly. No..the rebellious ones were liquidated quietly in advance. Those who had helped destroy them..were marked men. Forever caught. Forever trapped...

COMM: You are marked men. If the Kuomintang ever catches you, your doom is assured. To save your life, your families, your property - your only hope is to support the New Democracy. The mere fact that you are alive - condemns you to the Kuomintang - and death if they take you. Remember that.

WANG: We have a saying in our village now: "If you eat communist rice, you live only half a year."

SOUND: CHAIR SCRAPES BACK

NARR: He stood up. The deep spiritual shock that dulled his pain coated his eyes...

SOUND: STEPS OFF. TO DOOR

NARR: What are you going to do, Wang?

WANG: (OFF: STOPS) All the young men are in the Army. They eat.

NARR: Not the Kuomintang Army?!

WANG: (OFF) If the Kuomintang catches me - my doom is assured. Remember?

NARR: Doesn't your village need you?

WANG: (OFF) My village? (DEEP SIGH) Is nothing now.

SOUND: DOOR OPENS OFF..

NARR: (LOW) The sedge has withered from the lake.....

WANG: (OFF) Yes.

SOUND: TWO STEPS OFF. DOOR CLOSES. OFF.

MUSIC: IN SOMBERLY..

NARR: The sedge has withered from the lake - and no birds sing.....

MUSIC: UP AND FINISH

NARR: How did we fail in China? Was our failure one of omission--or of inadequate commission? Did we do nothing - or did we do too little too late? Did we learn anything from Failure in China? Let us turn again to Dr. Harold H. Fisher of the Hoover Library.

FISHER: In my opinion...we did too little, too late--but we also learned very much in China! We had an idea in China and we put it to work on the good old-fashioned better-late-than-never principle and it wasn't wasted because it was a Good Idea! The Idea was the J.C.R.R. - the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction.

NARR: It was headed by three Chinese and two Americans. Three of a kind and a pair against the Communist hand and one of the pair was Commissioner Dr. Raymond T. Moyer, who looks like artist Norman Rockwell's grass-roots characters - with a doctorate! The Commission had a problem in China!

MOYER: We were supposed to provide an answer to China's complex and almost overwhelming agrarian problem, in the face of runaway inflation and the mounting civil war. On April 3, 1948 Congress appropriated \$275,000,000 for Chinese Economic Aid. Up to 10% of this sum could be used to finance a rural reconstruction program.

NARR: 10%, Dr. Moyer?

MOYER: Or twenty-seven million five hundred thousand dollars.

NARR: (SHOCKED) But that's peanuts! Not even Jumbo peanuts!

MOYER: And time was running out.....

NARR: (BEAT) (SOBERLY) Time was running out.....

SOUND: FADE IN TICKING OF CLOCK STRONG: FADE AND HOLD IN B.G. NOW.

NARR: They knew they'd probably not finish what they started in China before the Communists overwhelmed them. But a start had to be made. They made it. They wound the clock at the eleventh hour and with one eye on the Reds and the other on the clock - they went to work. It was even later than they knew.....

SOUND: TICKING UP OMINOUSLY AND TO B.G. AGAIN

NARR: It was rice-roots all right, in full, human collaboration with the peasants on the peasant's own level, and on the principle that best saves human pride - self help! They got down in the soil with the peasants and dirtied their own hands, broke their own finger nails - broke the soil - and broke the ice between East and West!

MOYER: (SOFTLY PLEASED) Worked, too.

NARR: Racing against Time and History - yes - it worked! Modesty to the winds Dr. Moyer and TELL them how it worked!

MOYER: Well - in cooperation with the government, land tenure reforms were put into effect to give up to 25,000,000 ^{farm people} ~~families~~ a fairer share in the crops they raised....

NARR: That's twenty-five million. ~~And Families.~~ Not just ~~people~~.

MOYER: Irrigation projects increased paddy rice production 164,000 tons.

NARR: That's a lot of extra eating for those wan little China boys and China girls that appeal to you out of pictures you've seen...

MOYER: Nearly 500 County Health Bureaus each received 500 pounds of drugs and medical supplies. 64,000 water buffalo, the vital farm workers of China, were protected from ^{underfoot} ~~plague~~ by modern vaccination...A system for the increase and improvement of crops from improved seed was begun, to increase the yield of basic food crops 10 - 30 per cent....

SOUND: CLOCK FADING IN THOROUGH ABOVE IS STRONG NOW...

NARR: (LOW) One eye on the Clock; one eye on the Red Tide....

MOYER: In a period of five months the JCRR brought substantial benefits in land reform to 4-5 million Chinese Farm families.

NARR: Cost to American tax-payer...

MOYER: Ten cents per family.

NARR: Per American family?

MOYER: Oh no - per Chinese Family! It comes to almost nothing per American family!

NARR: Figure it out..keep one eye on the clock...five million Chinese Families at ten cents a family, fifty million pennies, or a third of a cent per person, cost to Americans.

MOYER: It comes to that.

NARR: (TO US) Brother - you never missed it did you? - and what a chance at LIFE it gave those Chinese - and what a truer picture of America than just skyscrapers and bubble-baths. But -- Eleventh hours have no special pleading with the Solar System.....

SOUND: ALARM GOES OFF JARRINGLY AND UNDER

NARR: They run out as swiftly as the safer hours. The Red Tide engulfed China.....

MUSIC: SURGES IN INEXORABLY AND GROWINGLY..AND FADE OUT.

HOFF: (SOME ECHO) The J.C.R.R. was a program that reached out to the people.....

NARR: (LOW) The speaker is Paul G. Hoffman...

HOFF: It is worth noting that the only two provinces in China where the civilians put up any real resistance to the Communist advance were those two provinces in which the Joint Rural Reconstruction Program had been operating..

FATIMA: (FILTER) Listen! Do you hear?

HOFF: If this program had been put into practice soon enough, China today might be lined up with the other free nations. And the chances are that we would not have had the Korean War. An investment of one billion dollars would have saved perhaps fifty billion dollars.

NARR: An investment.

HOFF: What we call "Foreign Aid" is not foreign and it is not aid. It is not alien to us; it is a vital part of our basic program. It is not aid at all - which denotes 'charity.' It is insurance and enterprise.

NARR: Premium on Peace Insurance - 10 cents a family,.....

SOUND: WIND STARTS UNDER ABOVE... UNDER

NARR: The winds of Asia are eternal. In winter they are merciless. There is no mercy in the wind, or flood, or the Four Horsemen of Apolalypse; only in Man and His Maker. But don't call it Foreign Aid. Call it bread on the waters; it returns many fold. Call it - an investment. The interest on the principal will be

NARR: (CONT) enormous. (WIND UP DOWN) The Winds of Asia ride the plains. Delay! Bicker! Folly! Failure to realize the needs of Man and of Peace--and the Wind is wild! The Wind is hurricane and havoc; and the Horsemen Famine, Pestilence, War and Death ride the wind!

FATIMA: (FILTER) You hear? You hear?

SOUND: WIND UP AND INTO...

NARR: Asia's Man With The Hoe emerges from the silence of the centuries. There are Voices in the Wind. He makes his humble furrow across the Paths of Power and Conquest and hears a crooning.....

MOSCOW: This..is Radio Moscow.....

NARR: Bowed with the weight of centuries he hears---

MOSCOW: We will make you a straight and a whole man!

NARR: There is a monstrous challenge in that wind!----

VOICE: (BIG. AMPLIFY) YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS!

MUSIC: SINGLE CRASHING CHORD SLOWLY FADING TO SILENCE.

NARR: Challenge from Democracy? (BEAT) Rebuttal from the West?

MALIK: (OFF: SOME ECHO) Challenge.

NARR: The chair recognizes Dr. Charles Malik, distinguished Minister from the Republic of Lebanon.

MALIK: We shall not serve the cause of peace by allying ourselves with dark regimes just because it is more expedient not to disturb them. If the Western World can show a way to eradicate the shame and scandal of poverty, of exploitation, of oppression, of greed, without resort to social revolution and class struggle and dictatorship...

MUSIC: IN SOFT.

MALIK: (CONTINUE) If it can place these material values in their proper, subordinate place within the context of a mighty spiritual movement which will be revolutionary without being subversive, and which will draw its substance from the infinite riches of the Western positive tradition....then the necessity for Communism will vanish..and the spectre which now walks the earth will be laid forever.....

MUSIC: UP FULL AND FINISH.

FISHER: This is Harold Fisher again. You have heard the testimony of eye-witnesses of great events in Asia. A revolution is going on in Asia, today. The Communists are trying to capture it and lead it away from the goals of liberty, equality and fraternity and turn it through class wars and fear into a totalitarian dictatorship. We can save this revolution from the Communists by being prepared to defend it by military and economic means; but we cannot save the Asians from slavery by economic or military aid alone no matter how generous, nor by arousing their fears no matter how real. We Americans can contribute to peace, progress and good will among the millions of Asia by giving them our respect, our friendship and understanding and with these a reaffirmation of the freedoms and responsibilities that are the foundation of our way of life.

CLOSING

ANNCR: You have just heard "The Music and the Dream"... one in a series of full-hour programs--"People Under Communism"--based on documented evidence and expert knowledge about the power and intentions of the Soviet Union.

Doctor Harold H. Fisher, Chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University supplied materials and counsel for this broadcast. This series as a whole is prepared in consultation with scholars from the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, the Russian Institute at Columbia University, and the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford.

"The Music and the Dream" was written by Milton Geiger and narrated by Arnold Moss, with special music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky. This program was produced and directed by Frank Papp.

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